

THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

By Samuel Daniel.

Revised, and by his last corrected
Coppie Printed.



LONDON,
Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Simon Waterfon* dwelling at
the Signe of the Crowne in *Pauls Church-yard*.

1634.



TO
THE MAIESTY
OF ANNE OF DEN-
MARKE, QUEENE OF ENG-
land, Scotland, France, and Ireland.



Deenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Blessing of succession that preserves the Kingdome, having their parts running in the times wherein they live, and likewise interested in the Histories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they have left to be in this world. And therefore to you great *Queene of England* (and the greater by your love to the Nation, and the blessing you have brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest servant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Majesty, being for the most part done under your Roofe, during my attendance upon your sacred Person; and if ever it shall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as
A 2 brought

TO THE READER.

With all such Collections, as have beene made out of others for those times. In the Lives of Henry the Second, Richard the First, Iohn and Henry the third: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Trivet, Caxton, and others. In the Lives of Edward the first, Edward the second and third: Froissart and Wallingham, with such Collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holinghead, Stow and Speed, diligēt and Famous Travellers in the search of our History, have beene made and divulged to the world. For forraigne businesses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I have for Authors, Paulus Æmilius, Haillan, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly understand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I have had any supplies extraordinary, either out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I have given a true account of them in the Margin: So that the Reader shall be sure to be payde with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shall have the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would have this Breviary to passe with an vn-interrupted delivery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I have in a body apart, under the Title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertainements, provisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertaining to our History; which as soone as I have meanes to Print, shall for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make use of such Materials, accompany this Collection; and to this Appendix, I have made references in the Margin as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliver things done, in as even, and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe of Antiquity, depraving the actions of other nations to advance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefe duty of a Writer) to leave things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof to the Reader, as being his part rather than mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rale them.

TO THE READER.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings or the Printers over-sight, I must crave Pardon of course; it is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and we cannot avoyde it: For besides our owne saylings, we must here take up many things upon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: As the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battaile, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars than we have, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serves much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors have beene but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken, the 10. of July, and the 6. of August, with a yeare over or under, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that he desires. But these things being but of the By, the understanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Maine, of more important consideration.

London is small Oct 25 1732

If Rapin Thoiras had any more as a gent. historian it is Mr Daniel but
of all time in bringing together more materials of importance



THE
COLLECTION
OF THE HISTORIE OF
ENGLAND: CONTAINING
BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AF-
FAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT:

Compiled by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of
the *Græmes* of the *Queenes* Majesties most
Honourable privie Chamber.



Undertaking to collect the principall affaires of this
Kingdome, I had a desire to have deduced the same
from the beginning of the first British Kings; as
they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding
no authentick warrant how they came there; I
did put off that desire with these considerations:
That a lesser part of time, and better knowne
(which was from *William* the first, Surnamed the
Bastard) was more than enough for my abilities;
and how it was but our curiosity to search further back; into times past than
we might discern, and whereof we could neither have prooff nor profit;
How the beginnings of all people, and States were as uncertaine, as the
heads of great Rivers: and could not adde to our vertue; and peradventure
little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they
rise from the springs of poverty, pyracie, robbery, and violence; howsoever
fabulous writers (to glorifie their nations) strive to abuse the credulity of af-
ter ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are
ever best scene, when they are up, and as they are, not as they were. Besides,
(it seemes) God in his providence to check our presumptuous inquisition,
wraps up all things in uncertainty, barres us out from long antiquity, and
bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were
sufficient both for example, and instruction to the government of men. For
had we the particular occurrences of all ages, and all nations, it might more
stiffe, but not better our understanding. We shall finde still the same corre-
spondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same,
though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weaknesse of Go-
vernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike: and
the

tongue, (so many hundred yeares before) would have been as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romans*, and not needed this emolition by learning. Philosophy would have prepared them to a sufferance of subjection, that they could not have bin so universally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to have been. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can have no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credite for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with us in the information of things even present) let it be judged.

And now for the time since, (which seeme to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittain*) we find it, during the domination of the *Romans* governed by their *Prefects*; and if they had Kings of the *Brittish* nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to have Kings the instruments of servitude: speaking of *Cogodunnus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certaine cities in *Brittain*, who title of King. For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that all encompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of the civill wars, and change of government, from a Republicke to a Monarchie, this Countrey lay neglected the space of 20. yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had settled the sovereignty, and posselt all the wide obedience of that Empire; the Princes and Cities of *Brittain* (feare to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of subjection, than a tollerable tribute, which it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammations in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of the *Romane* commanders, remained in an uncertain obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperour; who having much of the fume of glory, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: cast an especiall eye on this Province, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without adventure of himselfe, forsend *Publius Ostorius Scapula* a great warrior, *Pro-prætor* into *Brittain*, where he met with many turbulencies; and a people hardly to be driven, howsoever they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first events are those which incusse a dauntingnes, or daring, employed all meates to make his expeditions sodain, and his executions evil. Notwithstanding did *Caradocus* (one of the *Brittish* Kings) hold these great *Romans* work for nine yeares together, & could not be surprized, till betrayed by his own nation, he was delivered into their hands, & brought to *Rome* captive, with his wife and children, to be the subject of their triumph: wherof notwithstanding the glory was his. But *Claudius* had the honor of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittain*, to the *Roman* Empire, which though thus won, was not, till a long time after, overcome. For now the *Brittaines* (understanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submissio brought but the more oppression) colleague themselves against the *Romans*, taking their occasion upon the outrages, committed on the person and state of Queen *Voadicia*, widow of *Prasutagus* king of the *iceni*, a great Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heir, & two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from injury: but it fell out contrary; for no sooner was he dead, but the Kingdome was spoiled by the *Centurions*, his house ranfack't by slaves, his wife beaten, and his daughters ravished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *iceni* (as if all the Région had beene given in prey) were rest of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed

as

Nostra state, inquit Strabo, lib. 4. Regiorum quidem Britannicorum, legationibus & officiis amicitiam Augusti Cæsi. consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicant: famularemque Romanis totam penitus infulam redegerunt. And at that time it seemes by Strabo, held it not worth the guarding, for that it would not quit the charge,

as captives: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischief, they conspire with the *Trinovantes* and others (not yet inured to servitude) to resume their libertie. And first set upon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeated the ninth legion, wherof they slew all the foot, forced *Cerialis* the Legate and leader to flight, and put to the sword seventy thousand *Romans* and associates, inhabiting their municipall townes, *London*, *Verulam*, *Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Governor of the Province could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 120000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to move compassion and revenge) incites them to that noble, and manly worke of liberty: which to recover, she protests to hold her self there but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wives were likewise there, to be spectators and encouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittaines*; whereupon *Voadicia* poysons her selfe; and the miserable Countrey with their heave losse; had also more weights laid upon their servitude. And yet after this, made they many other defections, and bravely struggled with the *Romans*, upon all advantages they could apprehend; but the continuall supplies, ever ready from all parts of that mighty Empire; with such, as the *Brittaines* (having no meanes, but their owne swords, in an uncomposed State, laid all open to invasion) spent their blood in vaine. And in the end growing bafe with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became utterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subjection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garisons, disposed in severall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computed in all to be 52. thousand foot, & 300. horse; besides 37. companies containing 28. thousand foot, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed nor the *Romane* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raised by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Severus*, and others. And in this sort continued the state of *Brittain* whilest the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a dejected nation could doe under the domination of strangers proud, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their substance, but also constrained their bodies to serve under their ensignes; when or wheresoever their quarrellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their Rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to be commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mighty *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Cæsars*; and put forth the whole Empire. As first *Caraculus*, and after him *Alextus*, whom *Constantina* (the associate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at this first coming into *Brittain*, by *Asclapiodokus* the *Pretorian* *Præfect* vanquished; with all such as tooke part with him. After that the *Calcedonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State; and much afflicted the *Brittaines*, whom to repress, *Constantinus* (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in a expedition made against them, died at *York*; whether his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, escaping a train laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the East, with who he was in the wars against the *Sarmatians*; when his father came first into *Brittain* against *Alextus*. And here was he first saluted Emperour; for which it seemes he much esteemed the

B 3

Country,

Camolodunum
now Maldon.

De notitia utr.
Imper. Pancei-
roul.

The misery of
the Brittaines
under the Ro-
mans.

De Notitia u-
triusq; imper.

Country, as that they gave birth to his dignity. And reordering the government thereof (for a future securitie) divides it into five Provinces to be ruled by one vice-gerent, five Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. After whose time, we have no certaine and apparant marke to direct us which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who sends *Theodosius* (the father of him who was after Emperor of that time) into *Brittaine* against the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxons* & *Franci*, which of all sides invaded and spoiled the Countrey: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Bataui*, and *Heruli* cleared it, *Civilis* was sent to governe the Province, and *Dulcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The people of
Brittain consumed in the
factions of the
Emperours.

In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spain*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, having the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Caesar*, and to subvert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of *Brittaine*: and first in his way subdues *Gaul*, and there furnishes every place of defence with *British* souldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine in France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kind to this day. And having spred one Arme to *Spain*, the other to *Germany*, embraced so great a part of the Empire, as he drave *Valentinian* to seeke ayde of *Theodosius*, Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lyon*; and by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land, he dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it never recovered like power againe. All those great forces he took with him, either were left in *Gaul*, or perished with him at *Aquileia*, where he was overthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Vetran* souldiers fearing the invasion of the *Vandales*, made another defection; and tumultuarly proclaimed Emperour, one *Marcus*, whom shortly after they slue; then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure monthes being murdered, they gave the title to one *Constantine*; nor so much for his merit, as the omission of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did; whatsoever strength was left, or lately in any sort recovered, he emptied it wholly, and made himselfe of that power, as he subdued many of the Western Provinces, gave his Son *Constans* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, & after many fortunes, & encounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquished, and executed at *Aries*. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of *Brittaine*. And so the State (having all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and spoile of their Northerne enemies: who taking the advantage of this dis-furnishment, never left till they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, praefect of *Gaul*, under *Valentinian* the third, and that in so lamentable manner, (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as *Aetius* was moved to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised upon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foot thick, and twelve high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that work than warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: advising them from thenceforth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who (over-wrought with other businesse) could not

not

not attend affaires that lay so far off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, overthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Countrey worse than before. Whereupon, againe, this miserable people sent to *Aetius*, using these words: *To Aetius thrice Consul, the sighes of the Brittaines, and after thus complaine: The barbarous enemy beates us to the Sea, the Sea beates us backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations prevailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his own head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the last convulsions of a dying State; having all the parts, and Provinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violence of strange Nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine* to be first made knowne to perish by, and with the *Roman* State: which never suffering the people of the Land to have any use, or knowledge of armes within their owne Countrey, left them (upon their owne dissolution) naked, exposed to all that would assaile them.

And so ended the *Roman* Government in *Brittaine*, which (from their first invasion by *Julius Caesar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of five hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seven *British* Kings nominated to have reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marius*, *Chastus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortal honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* Governours.

This is briefly so much of of peciall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* History, concerning the State, and government of *Brittaine*: finding elsewhere little certainty, and from hence forth (during the short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereas *Gildas* the *Brittaine* complains, laying the cause on the barbarisme of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about fortie yeares after the invasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times wee come now to remember, yet hath he left (in his enigmatically passions) so small light thereof, as we discern very little thereby. Nor have the *Brittaines* any honour by that antiquitie of his; which over-blacks them with such ugly deformities, as wee can see no part cleare: accusing them to be neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in warre; and universally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inveigh, not to enforce. And though no doubt there was (as ever is) in these periods of States a concurrency of disorder, & a generall loosenesse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would have beene much pleased to have had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider than his charity, tooke up the whole roome of his understanding; to whom the reverence of antiquitie, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now give Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Such was the State of *Brittaine* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* (either by usurpation or faction) became King, and is said to be the author of the first calling in (or employing, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment, and the safetie of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The *Saxons* at this time possesse the third part of *Germany*, holding all the Countrey betwene the Rivers *Rhene*, and *Elbe*, bounded on the North by

The end of
the Romanes
government
in Brittain.

Anno
443.

Gildas de ex-
cidio Britannie

Anno
450.
Vortigernus, in
the Saxons

A description
of the state of
the Saxons.

Hengist and
Horsa the Leaders
of the Saxons.

Their first
plantation.

Portigern is
deposed.
Kortimer elected
King of Britain.

King Arthur.

by the *Baltique* Sea, and the *Ocean*. On the South by *Silva Hircinia*, and divided by the River *Fisurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: governed by an *Optimate* of twelve Princes, with an election of a Sovereigne leader for the businesse of warre. This being so spacious, populous and nere a Countrey, well furnisht with shipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded ever plentifull meanes to supply the undertakers of this action (which were first two brothers, *Hengist*, and *Horsa*) with all necessary provisions upon every fit occasion. After they had bin here a while as stipendiaries, & finding the debilitie of Prince, and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabit, then the whole Countrey of *Kent* was made over to *Hengist* by trans-action, under covenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And upon the marriage of *Portigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought over of purpose to worke on the dottage of a dissolute Prince) larger privileges were granted: so that by this allyance, and the fertilitie of the Land, were drawn in so many of this populous, and military nation, that *Kent* in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their power into other parts) advised *Portigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all invasions that way. Which being granted, he sends for *Otha* his brother, and sonne *Ebbsa*, with great supplies out of *Saxony* to furnish that designe. And so came the *Saxons* to have first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrey from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

And now became they of servants, masters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* Nobility combine themselves, depose *Portigern* (the Author of this improvident admission) and elect *Portimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth; who (whilest he lived, which was not long) gave them many fierce encounters: but all prevailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possesse of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrey to relieve all supplies without resistance) had the advantage to weare them out of all in the end. And besides force, they are said to have used treachery (in murdering three hundred of the *Brittish* Nobility) at an assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but upon the grant of three Provinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist* (a politique Leader) of almost fortie yeares continuance, made much for the settling here of their estate: which yet they could not effect, but with much travell, and effusion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practice and battles) grew in the end so enraged, to see their Countrey so surprized from under their feet, as they sold the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthines of their Leaders (whence the spirit of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were, especially *Ambrosius* the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the noblest of the *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage above man, and worthy to have bene a subject of truth to posterity, and not of fiction as *Legendary Writers* have made him; for whilst he stood, he bare up the sinking State of his Countrey, and is said to have encountered the *Saxons* in twelve battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall revenge. In the end himselfe overthrowne by treason, the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest unable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the invaders, daily growing more and more upon them.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (seeing the happy success, and plantation

tation here of *Hengist*) entred likewise on diverse coasts to get for themselves, with such multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were assaulted in another, and every where overwhelmed with new increasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the Dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdom) and *Otha*, and *Ebbsa* possesse of the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and began the kingdom of the South *Saxons*, containing *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, invaded the South, and West parts, and began the kingdom of the West *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hampshire*, *Barkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa* invaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdom of the East Angles, containing *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* began the Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hertsfordshire*.

Having thus in a (manner) surrounded the best of the whole state of *Brittain*, they after invaded the inner, and middle part. And *Crida* began the Kingdom of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, containing *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Glocestershire*.

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their Dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but upon destruction and desolation of the whole Countrey, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittain*. Which having bene so long a Province of great honour, and benefit to the *Romane* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, *Thermes*, *Aquaducts*, *High-ways*, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to be so utterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point us where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not be taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field, would build their fortunes onely there. Witnessse so many *Intrenchments*, *Mounds*, and *Borroughs* raised for tombes, and defenses upon the wilde champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as scaratches made on the whole face of our Countrey, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for us.

Which generall subversion of a State is very seldome scene: Invasion, and devastation of Provinces have often bene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recovered, with some commixtion of their own with the generation of the invaders. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerable populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibilitie of Paganisme, and Christianitie, with the immense blood-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natives, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward invaded the *Saxons*, made onely at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselves. When they grew to have further interest, they fought not the subversion, but a community, and in the end a Sovereignty of

The severall
entries made
by the Saxons.

The Brittaines
utterly subdu-
ed by the Sax-
ons.

The absolute
subversion of
Britain, con-
curred with
the generall
mutation of
other States
of the world.

Lombardie
called of the
Longbeards:

of the State, matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *NORMANS* dealt the like with the Province of *Nueftria* in *France*, who also after they had the Dominion, and what the victory would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here to have their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their bodie. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the universall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey or Province but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

For upon the breaking up of the *Romane* Empire (first divided into two, and then by faction disoynted in each part) imploing the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that over-ran, and laid open the world againe to libertie, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transigrations, and shiftings of people from one Countrey to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossessed the *Gauls*, and gave the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Province. The *Gauls* transpanted themselves on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make thir habitation: and of them had *Gallicia* and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Auari* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gave the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards* a people of *Germany*, bordered upon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall Province, remaining to this day. The *Goths* and *Vandales*, miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possest *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be undone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happned about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Ckie, Dwelling, River, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and shortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the invaders) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist Land*, or *England*. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites, and Customes, came to passe over unto us from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancesters any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they first divided into eight Kingdomes: all which continued to the last extermination of the *Brittaines* under *Carelius* their King, with whom they were driven over *Seaverne*, 136. yeares after the first entertainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching upon each ther parts, or States, (which never held certaine bounds) and the stronger, usurping upon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seven Kingdomes; that of the *Northanimbrians*, being made one of two: and then to fixe (the *West Saxons* taking in the Kingdom of *Suffex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250. yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150. yeares they were meerey governed by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with forty others by Pope *Gregory*, had converted *Aethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortly after received the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperitie grew mollified

lified by humility of the Religion, began to raise presently so many and great monuments of their pietie, in all parts of the Land, as if they strived who should excede therein, and had no other glory: Divers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as *Aetheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa*, King of the *East Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the *West Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-Land*, and *West Saxe*, so farre overgrew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should have all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, governing the *West Saxons*, first advanced that Kingdom to a preheminiencie, and did much to have subdued *Mercna-Land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterward King thereof) was in faire possibility to have swallowed up both the *West Saxons*, and all the rest of the Kingdomes. For whilst he lived, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the especial King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murder he committed in his house upon *Aethelbert* King of the *East Angles*, coming to him under publique faith, and a Suiter to his Daughter, were justly revenged upon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert* descended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*, began the way to bring all the rest into subjection. And being a Prince, who (from a private fortune, wherein he lived below, with, and not above other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exiles experience, grew to have great advantage over the time, and others borne-fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdom, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as he found it. So that those foure Kings of the *West Saxons*, who severally succeeded him; *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenulph* and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, than by right of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert*, with his popinquitie in blood, to the former Kings, practized to have him made away; which hee perceiving, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remained till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtained that Kingdom of the *West Saxons*; subdued *Cornwall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after sets upon *Bernulph*, newly invested in the Kingdom of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enjoyed but foure moneths, the inheritance of his fathers intinuity: whereby that Kingdom descended collaterally to *Kenulph*, who left it to *Kenelm* a childe, after murdered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kenulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne, was expelled by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdom tributarie to the *West Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South, and *East Saxons*, with the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a sovereignty of the whole Countrey. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him backe from enjoying such a fullnesse of power, as that we may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdom; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the *Danes* continued unsubjected; For they having first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) ever after

Egbert obtained the kingdom, which by him was named *England*.

Anno
802.

The description
of the
Danes.

ter held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute sovereignty to themselves.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbria Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adjacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of Piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiving here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part; the coast lying open to invasion, and the many divisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereunto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their travelles with the *Brittains*, and drew to setting of a Monarchy, the *Danes*, as if ordained to revenge their slaughters, began to assault the with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters between these two fierce Nations, with the bloodshed, and infinite spoiles committed in every part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately delivered, is yet a warre to the Reader to over-looke them. And therefore to favour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profite thereby, I passe them over.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolph*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the *West Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to devotion than action: as may be seen by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall service) for the service of God: besides an annuities of 3. hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious uses at *Rome*; whither he went twice in person, with his yongest son *Alfred*, whom he especially loved; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annointed a King, at eleven yeares of age, as if divining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last journey, and whole yeares stay at *Rome*; *Aethelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the *West Saxons*, to keepe him out, and deprive him utterly of his government, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great love his people bare him, hee was brought to yeeld up the Kingdome of the *West Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retainde onely the Kingdome of the *East Angles*, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* succeeded in the whole, & with great infamy, marrying his fathers widdow, *Judith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauve*, King of *France*, enjoyed it but two yeares and a halfe; when *Aethelred*, the second sonne of *Aethelwolph*, entred to the government, which he held five yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,

ALFRED, the mirror of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twentie yeares of his age (and in a yeare wherein eight severall battailes had bene given to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) began his troublous reigne, wherein he was perpetually in warre, either against his enemies, or else against vices.

First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeeld up a part of the Kingdome (which was that of the *East Angles*, and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (upon his baptizatiō) hee made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before hee usurped by violence.

And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horroir of armes, he performed all noble actions

Anno
872.
Alfred.

of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his Predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercia-land*, and *Aethelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the grave advice and consent of his States assembled, he makes choise of the fittest, abrogates those of no use, and adds other, according to the necessity of the time.

And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to unlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could travell without convoy: he ordained the division of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that every English man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) living legally, might be of a certaine Hundred, or Tithing, out of which, he was not to remove without securitie: and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, he was likewise to produce sureties for his behaviour; which if he could not finde, he was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after he had put in suretie escaped, all the Tithing, or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured Travellers, and the peace of his Countrey.

The opinion he had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to have bene bred without it, & to have his Kingdome so utterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and having gotten them, he both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselves) held them in great veneration: Rareness then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, than after plenty did on more perfectiōs. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, he drew out of *France*: *Asser* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other parts: he was the first lettered Prince we had in *England*, by whose means and encouragements publique Schooles had here, either their reviving or beginning.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sonnes, with whom were bred under most diligent masters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to translate many things into the vulgar tongve, which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne; and especially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of a Poet.

The naturall day, consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight he spent in prayer, study, and writing; eight in the service of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (having then no other engine for it) he measured by a great waxe light, divided into so many parts, receiving notice by the Keeper thereof, as the severall houres passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his revenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a survey of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and reigned 27. yeares, leaving his sonne *Edward*, a worthy successor to maintaine the line of Noblesse thus begun by him.

C

EDWARD

King Alfred
first made col-
lection of the
Saxon Lawes.

The first divi-
sion of the land
into Shires,
Hundreds and
Tithings.

Publique
Schooles first
erected.

West. Westm.

The first sur-
vey of the
Kingdome.

Anno
900.

Edward Senior.

EDWARD, though he were far inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdome of *Mercna-land* in possession, whereof *Alfred* but had the homage, and as some write, held sovereignty over the East Angles, and *Northumbrians*: though we finde (in the joynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the same confederation fore concluded by *Alfred*. He also subdued the *Brittaines* in *Wales*: fortified, and furnished with Garisons divers townes in *England* that lay fit to prevent the incursions of the *Danes*: and was all his reigne of 23 yeares in continuall action, and ever before hand with fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this *Danicque* warre, though they lost their ease, wonne much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as having little out-lets, or leasure for ease, and luxury; they were made the more pious, just, and careful in their government: otherwise it had beene impossible to have held out against the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power, and undantable stomacke, as no fortunk could deterre, or make to give over their hold. And the imbecility of some unactive Prince, at that time had beene enough to have let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. As first, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his Son

Anno
924.

Aethelstan a Bastard preferred before the lawfull sonne.

AETHELSTAN of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate son *Edmond* under age: Nor did *Aethelstan* disappoint the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice, and Magnanimity, and after sixteene yeares reigne died without issue.

Anno
940.

Edmond.

EDMOND his brother succeeded him: A Prince likelie to have equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not untimely perished by the hand of a base Out-law in his owne house, at a festivall, amidst his people that deerely loved, and honoured him, And though he left two Sonnes, yet was

Anno
950.

Edred or Edred.

EDRED his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Ancestors) was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his reigne, which was of ten yeares.

Anno
959.

Edgar.

EDWIN his Nephew, the eldest son of *Edmond*, succeeded him (an irregular youth who interrupting the course of goodnesse, lived dissolutely, and died wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other son of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

EDGAR, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the grave advice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

Amongst other his excellent actions of government, he provided a mightie Navy to secure his coasts from invasion, which now he found (though late) was the only means to keepe out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land ever before negligent, or not inured to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessels made of wicker, and covered with hides: whereby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as those times gave, in shipping) found that

Edgar provides for shipping.

that easie footing they had. Yet *Egbert* is said to have provided a strong Navy, about the yeare 840. And *Alfred* thirty or forty yeares after did the like. But either now disused, or consumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edified, and fets forth a Fleete consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre greater number; and those he devides, and places in foure parts of the Realme, making his progresse yearly, with part of his mighty Navy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it to one name, and Monarchie, he was intituled King of all *Albion*, as testifies his Charter granted to the Abby of *Malmesbury*, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius; nec non Maritimarum, seu insularum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For he having first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions; had the Sovereignty over them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots*, did him homage, whether for *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland* given to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I cannot say. And five Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Countrey, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that he seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this Land, that hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the Title of *Pacificus*; and rendred his Kingdome (never before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene given to them, and not to use (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his reigne of sixteene yeares: being too short to close the dessevered joints of a commixed Kingdome; which was onely, to have beene the worke of time, and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to have advanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordained to have. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their untimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leaving his sonne *Edward*, a child, to undergoe the miseries of non-age, to be made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to advance her own sonne *Ethelred*, brake in over the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way; and is said, her selfe to have murdered him, coming to her house, strayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Purbeck*.



ETHELRED, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground, the entrance to whose reigne was blood, the middle, miserie, and the end, confusion. They write, *Saint Dunstan* Preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (foretold him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: Saying, *For what hast thou aspired to the Crowne; by the death of thy brother, murdered by thy mother: Thus saith the Lord: The sword shall never depart from thy house, raging against thee all the dayes of thy life, slaying those of thy seede, till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion and language, the people shall not know: Nor shall thy sonne, nor the son of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors be exalted, but by long avengement.* And this whether so uttered, or not was satisfied in the event. For either this unjust disordering the succession, or the concurrence of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begun Monarchie fell quite asunder, and began the occasion of two Conquests by foraine Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

A most usefull progresse.

He reigned 16. yeares.

Saint Edward.

Anno
975.Anno
978.

Two conquests of this Kingdome in fiftie yeares.

The spoiles
made by the
Danes.

The original
of Dane gets,
the first im-
position laide
upon the king-
dome.

For the *Danes*, having now bene so long inmates with the *English*, dis-
spread over all parts by intermarching with them, and multiplying with the
late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) grea-
ter than ever: so that this opportunity of a yong and untried Prince, in a new
and brangling State, drew over such multitudes of other of the same Nation,
as every Coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes
of spoile and sackage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any
certaine head against them: for if encountered in one place, they assailed ano-
ther, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were
raised, as nothing could be effected available to quail them: Where-
upon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not prevaile with
the sword, to assaile them with money, and bought a peace for 10000
pounds: which God wor, proved after, a very deere penni-worth to the
common-wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power,
and the buyer, at how bad a rate his necessity was to be served, and yet not
sure of his bargain, longer than the Contractor would. Who having found
the benefite of this market, raised the price thereof almost every yeare. And
yet had not *Ethelred* what he paid for: the Land in one part or other, never
free from spoile and invasion; but rather the more now oppressed, both by the
warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we heere in our *Annales*, laide
upon the Kingdome, and with heave grievance raised in a proore distressed
State, continuing many yeeres after the occasion was extinct: And in the end
(though in another name) became the usuall supplication, in the dangers of
the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both enlarged the means, and desire of the enemy,
so that at length came *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Aulse*, King of *Nor-
way*, in person, as it likewise receives hurt for committing outrage; and
were both returned with great summes, and *Aulse* of a milder disposition,
with Baptisme. These calamities from abroad, were made more, by the
disloyalties at home, faith and respect (being seldom found safe in lost for-
tunes) held not in most of the principall men employed in the defence. *Ad-
fricke*, Admirall of the Navie, is said to have given intelligence of all Sea-
preparations, and disappointed their works. The Earles *Fran*, *Erithgish*,
Goamin, and *Turkille* descended of *Danish* progeny, and of greatest com-
mand, deceived the Armies by Land, and were the authors of discourager-
ment to the people they led. *Edric* Earle of *Mare-land*, after them made Ge-
nerall of the Kings forces, is branded with everlasting ignominy, and the title
of *Flee*, for his barbarous disloyalty, frustrating all attempts, wherein hee
was employed.

Wulfstan a Noble man, for his misdemeanour outlawed, made depredations
on the coasts with twenty ships. & was the cause that four score men sent to
take him in, were utterly consumed. This defection of the Nobility, how-
soever it might be by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affe-
ction, is laid to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet we finde more unfortunate
than weak, howsoever they have for his sake, and neglected no occasion
to make resistance and preparations against all events, bringing after his af-
faires, to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as
if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howsoever it
were, besides the misery to lose, he must have (that which accompanies in-
felicity) *Blame* and *Reproach*. Though the many and desperate battailes hee
made, and good constitutions for the government, the provisions to supply
all important occasions, shew, that he was not much behind the best Princes,
but only in fortune.

By

By the example of *Edgar* his Father, he procured a mighty Navie, cau-
sing of every three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the
Kingdome, a Shippe to be built, and of every eight, a Corlett to be found:
Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quailt with
tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made unusefull by
neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State
were disappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with
strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destru-
ction, all concurred to make a dismall season.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raise a-
gaine new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting here this poore tur-
moiled people, more than ever, receives a fee for bloodshed, to the summe
of 48000 pounds, granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*,
and a peace, or rather paction of servitude concluded; with quiet cohabita-
tion, use of like liberties, and a perfect union betweene the two Nations, con-
firmed by oathes of either part, and hostages delivered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare: When the occa-
sion of greater mischiefs was given by a universall massacre of the *Danes*
suddenly here contrived: and effected by the Kings commandment, upon
the suggestion of *Huno*, a great Commander, and a violent Warriour of that
time: Urging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now grown haughty with this
peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wives and Daughters of
great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout
all parts of the Kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrency of an
inveterate rankor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible
to be conjoynd: So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band
of alliance, were available to save them from slaughter. Wherein to in-
cense the more their King, *Gunild*, his sister, a woman of masculine courage,
who had a little before received Christendome, a mediator and pledge of
the peace, having first her husband, and sonne slaine in her sight, rather with
a threatening, than appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation
for revenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

Soone was the notice of this enormous act given to *Swaine*, and as soone
armed with rage and power, re-entred he the Kingdome, having now a fair-
rer shew to doe foully, than ever: wrong had made him a right, who had
none before: and the people of the Land, now so forward to maintaine their
acts, as commit it, rather were content to give him the possession of their
Country, than that he should winne it: the greatest part of the Kingdome
submitting themselves unto him; onely the Citty of *London*, which *Ethel-
red* held fortified, made noble resistance till he left them; and conveyed him-
selfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had
sent for *Emma* his Queene, with her two sons, *Alfrid*, and *Edward* before,
frō the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home
by the people of *England* upon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to have
bin crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty,
died suddenly, leaving his son *Knut* to succeed, & accomplish what he intended.

Ethelred returning was soone furnisht with an Army, sets upon *Knut*
in *Lindsey*, where he lay with his Fathers shipping, and Hostages, and drave
him to take the seas: wherewith enraged, making about to *Sandwich*, he mi-
serably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home:
himself, with the spoiles his father & he had gotten, returned to his country,

C 3

to

The massacre
of the *Danes*.

Anno

1002.

Gunild slaine.

Swaine wins
England.
Ethelred flies
into *Norman-
dy*.

Swaine dea'd.

Ethelred re-
turnes.

to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. *Ethelred* in the meantime, to increase the summe of revenge, with more wrath, at a general assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danish* Nobilitie to be murdered: Among which were *Sigifrith*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumbria*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand on each side for mischief) inviting to his lodging, under pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slain: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselves and their masters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same brunt. *Knut*, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers, made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred unto him, with pledges of their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armour. Here the false *Edric* leaves his Liege-lord, and yields up forty ships, and his perjur'd Faith to *Knut*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and body, *Edmond* his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious invador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found Faith, had made it so, and delivered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Knut. Edmond Ironside.

BY now upon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37 yeares reigne, shewes that infelicity shall have time too much, and happinesse too little.) *Knut* was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King: onely the city of *London*, with some of the Nobility thereabout, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at *Essendon* (likely to have beene the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord) seeing *Edmonds* part in possibility to prevaile, againe betraied his truth, and withdrew himselfe, and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatall battell lost *England*: here perished the best flower of honour it then had: Here amongst the rest was slain, *Ulric*, an Earle of *Essex*, of ever memorable worth, who had long stood up for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the first that shewed that there was hope and possibility to quail the enemy, had there beene an union in loyalty.

From this bloody worke, *Edmond* escapes to *Gloucester*, to recollect new forces; nor was he so forsaken with this fortune, but he soone recovered another army, to re-assaile the enemy, that might be idle upon this victory. But *Knut* as provident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here, when both Armies were at the point to encounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the over-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the River *Severne*, their Armies, on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the mastery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each other worth, they cast away their weapons, embraced, and concluded the peace: But howsoever, it seemes (both sides tied with the misery of a consuming warre, never like to be ended, but by the utter extirpation of the one, and the danger of the other, and incertainty of the future) were easily perswaded to embrace a present agreement,

Knut returns.

Ethelreds death.

Edmond Ironside sonne to Ethelred, by his first wife Ethelgiva.

Anno 1016.

Edmonds single combat with Knute.

Peace concluded.

ment, which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremony to expresse the attonement of their mindes, as if they made trans-action of their persons each to the other. *Knut* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond* became *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler than warre: for that armed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously given him at *Oxford*; some say, by the son of *Edric* (as if to shew he would be the heire of his father also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were utterly lost, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all wee have else of his magnanimous actions) tooke up scarce the circuit of one whole yeare: and yet had that beene space enough for glory (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profundity, than the length, which seldom holds long and even,) could he have had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to have died at the battell of *Essendon* with *England*, than condescended to have made it halfe *Denmarke*.

Knut.

BY this meanes, *Knut* attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome; which hee governed with better Iustice then he got it, conforming his native roughnesse, to a more civill, and regular fashion of life: and to have *England* see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Navy, and stipendary soldiers home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly upon this people, taking the way of mildnesse a better means for his establishment, than force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this evacuation of strangers, 83000 pounds of silver, which he rather consented to do at once, than to have them a daily burthen, to pester the State for ever.

At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of those that might prove his enemies. *Edric*, who came first to salute him sole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him so) he caused his head to be set upon the highest part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promise, of advancing him above any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should have paid, would never yet be held fully cleared; giving a generall satisfaction thereby to the people, that rejoyced to see Treason so justly rewarded. Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, and *Erlick*, who being banished the Land, were executed upon their arrivall in *Denmarke*. But the love, and high opinion of Iustice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein he tooke counsell onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the sonnes of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertained the moiety of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother; which three, hee sent to be murdered abroad, to beguile the rumour at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, afforded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserved, and conveyed out of danger by those, who should have made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungary*, where *Edward* (surviving his brother) married *Agatha* sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour

Henry

England divided betwene them.

The death of King Edmond Ironside at Oxford.

Anno 1018.

Knut the first Danish King.

83000. pounds paid to King Knute for evacuation of Strangers.

Edward married to Agatha the Queen of Hungaries sister.

Henry the second) by whom he had two sonnes, *Edmond*, and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret*, and *Christian*.

Alfred, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserved by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*, their Voele, and so lay out of his way. His private injustice (which often may be more in compassion, than hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order; erecting Churches and Monasteries with large patents of provisions, both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, & to memorize the places of his victories with his thankfulness to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Civile, divulged into the language of that time, testifie his tender pietie, and care of Justice; and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held the best means to have Laws observed, was, by having them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, he inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Severe he was, but not cruell, few of his lawes sanguinary, as being not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found means to maintaine publique manners; without that luctuall remedy of blood. No punishments Capitall, unlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whosoever had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his family were made bond, even to the childe in the cradle*: This hee abrogates as most unjust, and ordaines: *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment, and that the wife (unlesse the thing stolne were found under her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence*.

This was he to his people, with whom he is said to have so well cleared himselfe (howsoever he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Country. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts, as first of all Rites of Honour and reverence to the memory of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to have had any hand in that murder. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour, than hers, to accept his bed, that had bene the persecuter of her husband and children,) whereby he held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might have ocher by him.

Having thus established this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon he fastens, and with the great forces he brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high estimation of his worthinesse, so prevailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome, and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intituled, King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which he laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people (generally addicted to devotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immense bounty here within the Land, seekes to make *Rome* also feeble the fulnesse thereof, whither he went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the

His erection
of Churches,
& of Church
government.

Knut King of
England, Den-
marke, and
Norway.

the Saxons schools, his predecessors of *England* had founded, from all imposition, as he did likewise all straights and passages, where travellers were with rigor constrained to pay toll.

Of his entertainment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade* the Emperour, and diyers other Princes of the Christian world; himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to pay an especiall regard to the due administration of Justice; to all his subjects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, having no neede to advance his revenue by fines: And also charges them to see all Church Lands and Rectors fully cleared before his returne.

The active vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that ever yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and fall of new Governements, is such; as shewes he strives by all worthy wayes, to lay the ground-works of a State; which according to his frame, was like to hold good to his posterity, than not. And as likely was he, to have bene the roote of a succession, spreading into many descents, as was afterwards the *Normans*; having as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he reigned more as long; farre better beloved; of disposition more bountifull, and of power larger to doe good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscarried in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a mans hand with himselfe.

Harold.

Harold, the eldest sonne of *Knut* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the Danique Nobility, in an assembly at *Q. York*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent* and the Nobility of *England* would have chosen *Hardiknute*, sonne of *Emme*, or else *Alfred*, the son of *Ethelred*, who is said to have come out of *Normandy*, upon the death of *Knut* to claime the Crowne; but *Harold*, being at hand carried it. The first act of his reign, was the banishment, and surprizing all the treasure of his brother, *Queen* *Emme*. Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfred* her sonne, his competitor; and committing him to a loathsome prison, where he died. For which deedes the Earle *Godwin* beares a foule mark, as betraying him. *Queen* *Emme* repaires to *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flandres*, her kinsman, where she remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of foure years; and then with her sonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as if secretly prepared for something else, than to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

Harold and *Hardiknute* were both of the same age, and both of the same blood, and both of the same name.

His *Hardiknute* invested in the Government, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceived of him, & first in like sort began with that degenerate act of revenge (wherein none are said to much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late King to be untomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into the *Thames*.

Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the death of *Alfred*, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused. The Bishop is dispossessed his Sea, and the Earle with a rich and rare decayed present, in forme of a Ship of Gold, appeared

Knut the
most absolute
monarch of
this King-
dome, of any
that was be-
fore him.

Anno
1038.

Harold's cru-
elty.

Anno
1041.

ceased that furie, making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respect his deepe robe had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and rancor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, he added a general grievance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giving to every Marshall of his Navy eight Markes, and to every Maister ten, which he imposed to be payd by the State. But after having called home *Edward* his other halfe brother, out of *Normandy*, hee lived not long, for farther violence; Dying suddenly the second year of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greatest jolity, not without suspicion of poyson.

And with him ended the Government of the *Danes* in *England* (having onely continued 26. yeares under these three last Kings) and that without any cracke or noise, by reason the nation had no predominate side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of *Knute*, and no great admission of others after; and that fact, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the *English*, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay over against *Denmarke*: whereby that which with all the struggling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe, leaving *England* to a King of her owne, and *Denmarke* to civill discord about the succession; *Norway* likewise returning obedience to a son of *Olave*, recovered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

Edward the Confessor.

EDWARD (the son of *Edhelred*) is sent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and crowned in *England* at *Winchester*, by *Edlinc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Anno 1042. being about forty yeares of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principal agent in his preferment, but for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as having dearly payd for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any *Normans* with him. The first act he did, was the remission of the *Danegilt*, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearly, and had beene payd for forty yeares past. Hee caused the *Danes* to be collected, out of those of the *Mercians*, *West Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in Latine. Hee was a Prince most highly renowned for his piety; and for no other, than the calme time hee had. For having beene so long brought up with the Nunnes at *Jumieges* in *Normandy*, he scarce knew to be a man, when hee came into *England*. And to shew how little he understood himselfe, they note, how in a great anger, hee sayd to a bafe fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee, were I able*. And as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, he was so far from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from all carnall act done by him, and yet lived the (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

The soft simplicitie of this King, gave way to the greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that he would keene the speciall man in his preferment to the Crowne, and by marrying his daughter *Burh* to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of state, and yet not without opposition.

For

The reason of the extinction of the *Danes* in *England*.

Anno 1042.

Edward the Confessor.

Anno 1042.

His continency.

Earle Godwin's greatnesse.

For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and spirit) seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit, both of the King and State; for the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as brave deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Westsex*, the son of the Earle *Godwin*, performed against the *Welch*, in the West: For the first deprived of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an usurper, and invested *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other deposed *Ris* and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and subdued that Province to this Crowne.

Besides, the Earle *Godwin* had to struggle with an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert*, a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, first to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting much that nation, and being part of their blood, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) hee had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoever they did, could not avoid to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the *English* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gave more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, having beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking up lodgings at *Dover*, upon his peremptory behaviour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriving with all his traine, pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggravates the insolency of the Citizens so farre; that Earle *Godwin* is sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the Citie of *Dover*, to chastice the people. The Earle (considering it was upon the information of one side) advised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the Citie, to understand what they could say for themselves, and accordingly to proceede; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of favour to his Countymen) gave the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at *Glocester*, where neither he, nor any of his sons would appeare; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to suppress the *Welch*, who were not found to offend, whereupon the Assembly removes to *London*, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces; and to come onely attended with twelve persons. He sends them word; to dismisse his forces he was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were for the safetie of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was he commanded within five dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Toussaine*, and *Swaine* his sons; gets him into *Flanders*, where *Toussaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldowin* the 5. *Harold* his eldest son, departs into *Ireland*; the King puts away from him the Queene, to be partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her house; who is described (by the writers of those times) to have beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this desperate fortune (whilst the *French* and his enemies possess the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached *London*, by the River; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his owne peace with power, in such sort, as the

French

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.

Eustace, Earle of *Bullogne* married *Goda* the Kings sister.

Earle *Godwin*'s insurrection.

The French
forsooke the
Court, and
Kingdome of
England.

French fearing revenge, forsooke both the Court and Kingdome.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the French nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those advantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize to follow.

The weaknesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle Godwin, being risen up from so great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his side strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of injustice, by the sway of power and passion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but induring ill) held to be a bad King.

And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, she under-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feet, over certaine plough-shares, made red hot, and laide an uneven distance one before another) which she safely performed. And the reason why, both her Son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeares had made her an actor in divers fortunes, was, for that she never affected King *Elthelred*, nor the children shee had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she ever much more loved living, and commended dead.

It seemed these private grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-lesse King, gave matter for ambition & power, to build hopes & practises upon; though for his part, he shewed to have had a care for the succession, in sending for his Nephew *Edward*, intituled the Out-law, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, shortly after his arrivall, died, and *Edward* his son (surnamed *Atheling*) to say Prince *Edgar*) whom he had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the second, who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little knowing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected upon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was *Anno 1065*. when hee had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

King Edward
founder of
Westminster
Church.

Harald the second.

Anno
1065.



AND *Harald*, son to Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title he might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as descended from that Nation, and, as some report, son to *Githa*, sister to *Swein*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more than man, to undergoe the burden of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddenly upon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deservings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Al-gith*, sister of *Edwin* & *Morcar*, Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he

he

he faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all provisions for defence, that a politike and active Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disjoynted, or dasht with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as usually is seene in these publicke feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more than enough to doe.

And the first man which began to disturbe his new government, was his owne yonger brother *Toustaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, having the government of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceived hatred against his brother, easily set on by the Duke of *Normandie*, & *Aldouin Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailed first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets upon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*. Then craves hee ayd of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald* surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the *Orcades*, and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to invade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome, without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Toustaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

But from hence was he called with his weary and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the testament of the late King *Edward*, his Kinsman, upon the advantage of a busie time, and the dis-furnishment of those parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Bath* in *Sussex*: neere to which place was tryed by the great Alliance of Gods judgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other,) and howsoever miserably lost, yet most Nobly fought on the part of *England*, and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60. thousand, 9. hundred, 74. of *English*, shew, how much was wrought to have saved their Country from the calamity of foraine servitude.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow be subdued by so small a Province as *Normandy* (in such sort, as it could never after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances aforenoted, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to be declared, give us faire and probable reasons thereof. Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by some that lived neere it, may give us great evidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their being secure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace, which had held, in a manner, from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeares,) growne neglective of Armes, and generally debauched with luxurie and idlenesse: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuary learning: The Nobility given to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression: The common sort to drunkennesse, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the bravest men perished, and himselfe grew insolent upon the victory (retaining the spoyles, without distribution to his

D

souldiers

The Kings
brother *Tou-
staine* banished.

His death with
the King of
Norway.

The Battaille
was fought in
Sussex, 7.
miles from
Hatfield upon
Saturday the
14. of Octo-
ber, 1066.

The King va-
lor and death.

William
Malmesbury.

souldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, and unruly: and comming to this battell with many mercenary men, and a discontented Army, gave great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether unacquainted) were especially overthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *English* (consisting of Bils, their chiefe and aurient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolve them; till the *Normans* (taining to flye) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excused the fortune of the day.

The body of King *Harold*, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. He was a King which shewes us nothing but misery, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sonnes, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldest fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made some attempts upon the Western coasts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about five hundred yeares after the first comming in of *Hengist*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus have I in the straightest course (wherein that uneven compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got over the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke. I purpose more particularly to deliver. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William the first.



Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* received an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of living, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innovation in most things, but religion: So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it ever had, we are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, than heretofore: which by being thus undone was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by losing, than otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the *Danes*, brought it to the entirest Government it ever posselt at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Normans*, by comming in upon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof over the Seas, into the goodly Provinces of the South: For before these times, the *English* Nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, never made any sally out of the Isle, upon any other part of the world, but buied at home in a divided State, held a broken Government with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till *Knute* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would bee were they employed.

But the *Normans*, having more of the Sunne, and civillie (by their commixtion with the *English*) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them than before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, where-

King Harold
buried at
Waltham.
His Issue.

Anno
1066.

Englands ter-
ritories over-
shoots the
Ocean.

wherewith their former conquerours were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation & honor. For whereas before, the *English* lived loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their revenues in good fare, caring for little other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, provide better furnishings, erect Castles, and Towers, in other sort than before. They inclose Parkes for their private pleasure, being debarred the generall liberty of hunting, which heretofore they enjoyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to be in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* haits, and fashion of living, became generally assumed, both in regard of novery, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt upon in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the habit of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character, wherein it was written, but was altered to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now used. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus subdued us, we must take our course up to the head of their originalls. The *Normans*, we finde to have issued out of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and were of like maners, as the rest of those *Northerne* Countries, which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmaticke and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendering, without any tie of marriage, yeilded that continuall surchargements of people, as they were forced to unburthen themselves on other Countries, wheresoever their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Rou*, a great commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King *Alfred*, and first landed in *England* (that ever lay in the Road to all these invaders) where finding no roome empty, nor any employment, was content (upon some reliefe received) to use his forces other-where; which he did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frisie*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chamont* and *Hennalt*; with whom hee had many violent encounters, and committed great spoyles in their Countries. Which done, he passed along the coastes of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Country up to *Roan*; where the people having beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting*, (another invador of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition he would defend them, and minister Justice according to the lawes of Christ, and the customes of the Country. For *Charles* the simple, then King of *France*, yeelding to present succour, (being otherwise imbroyled about the right of his Crowne) gave him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the conquest of *Paris*, and gave many notable defeats to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Country of *Nuestria*, (or *Westrish*) which of the *Normans* was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, given by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *France*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the simple, and is sayd to have underayded *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designe, though after he urged it in an article against *Charles*, the giving away his Country, and the favouring of strangers.

D 2

And

Malmesbury.
Mauricius, Bi-
shop of London
An. Dom.
1087.
new built the
Church of S.
Paul in Lon-
don, of stone
brought out of
Normandie.
The Charter
of William I.
granted to
this Church.
Before this
time the
Churches
were most
of Timber
William I.
built the
white Tower,
afterwards
walled and
inhabited un-
derneath by
William I.
and Henry I.
The Saxons
habit, and
Characters
first altered.
The original
of the Nor-
mans. Roul, or
Rou, the first
Norman that
landed in
England.
The History
of Normand.
Roul, the first
Conqueror of
Normandy
from the
French, call-
ing it Nor-
man.

And thus came *Roult* to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that judgement and equitie, as he left his name in a perpetuall reverence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant upon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the space of 120. yeares: *William 1. Richard 1. Richard 2.* who had two sonnes, *Richard* and *Robert*, that successively inherited the Dukedom.

Robert after he had governed eight yeares (either meerey for devotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, where-with his conscience might stand charged about his brothers death (which because it was untimely, might be thought unnatural) resolves to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much dissuaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that (already they said) *Alain Earle of Brittain*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in contestation, who should succede him in the Dutchie: so that upon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which in conscience he was bound, by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to be content: I have (sayd he) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse I have great hope, and I doubt not but he is of my begetting: him I will invest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittain* (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I have in him, I will constitute his governour, and Seneschall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* shall be his Guardian, and so I leave him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops, and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named *William*, who was the sixth Duke of *Normandie* after *Roult*, begotten on *Arles*, a meane woman of *Flais*. And Duke *Robert* making his intended journey, delivers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henry* the first, King of *France*, whom before he had mainly aided in preserving his Crowne (lest him by his father King *Roberts* Testament against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance*, which with a great side of Nobility stood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the custome of *France*: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much, as their selfe-respects would not turne the scale) to have had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to be so. And causing the Child to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandie*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *1031*. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miseries that afflicke Princes in their pupillage: besides, the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get over; yet lay it ever a barre in his way, and hindered his standing cleere, stood he never so high.

The Nobles of *Normandy*, looke (after his fathers death, by much entreaty got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the having of him amongst them, would add more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Count, gave his State the better. But soone they found, having his person (with his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and faction. For presently followed the murdering, and poysoning of Governours, displacing of Officers, intrusion, supplantation, surprizings, and recovering of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborn, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedence or meerenesse. But this was the least, as being done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous, practices contrived against him. His right was

quarrelled

quarrelled by competitors, cleere in blood, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roult*; and much prooffe of his owne worth, by having gotten great experience in the *Sarazine* waire in *Spaine*: whereby upon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth, he was grown powerfull, well followed, and beloved of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, he urges, *What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Child should be preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors, had nobly gotten; and what a shame the Normans (a people of that worth) would endure to be so governed; seeing they had others of the renowned race of Roule, William, and Richard, Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him unworthy to inherit the State.* And being impatient (as is ambition, that ever rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumont*, was utterly defeated, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much advanced, as the King of *France*, (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of *Thulliers*, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, upon his subjects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things even; But long it was not, ere hee plainly bewrayed his minde; ayding in person *William Earle of Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and sonne to *Richard* the second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Armie to succour *Arques*, assailed by *Conte Guiffard*, the Dukes Generall; who (by a stratagem so trayned the *French* into an Ambush) as he overthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great losse, and dishonour: Leaving *Arques* (the first Arch of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arrived to seaventeene yeares of age; and the discomfited competitor to seeke his fortunes with *Eustace Earle of Bologne*, finding upon his returne little grace in Court, where fortune ever alters credit, and few regard men overthrowne.

This storme over past, another succeeds more dangerous: here lived with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* sonne to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Burgogne* and *Alix*, daughter to *Richard* the second; who coming to be sensible of his interest, was advised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Dutchie, which they sayd appertayned to him in right; and was wrongfully usurped by the Bastard. And to advance his purpose, there happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of *Normandy*, *Conte Neele*, and the Earle of *Bessin* (whose debate Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interpolated himselfe to compose this discord; and by the advice of *Grimoult de Plebs* (a principall moover in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the point of their malice upon him, who in their quarrell favouring neither, made both to hate him, and easily conspire with *Guy* to murder him any awares: Which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for being held a naturall, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes presence, whom hee willed in haste to flye, or hee would bee murdered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelihood; and knowing his Fortune was lyable unto all suddaine assassinations: instantly takes

A conspiracy discovered strangely.

Horse, and all alone postes to *Fallaise*, his especiall place of strength: on the way, his horse being tyred, about breake of day, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to *Fallaise*: The Gentleman perceiving who he was (though as then very unwilling to be knowne) humbly craves the cause of his so strange and untimely riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discovered, tells the occasion: The Gentleman (whose name was *Robert de Rye*) furnishes him with a fresh horse, and sends two of his sonnes to conduct him the neere way to *Fallaise*: No sooner was he gone out of sight, but after post the Conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman whether he saw the Duke; who answered that he was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a divers path) and rode on with them, offering his service to Count *Bessin*; where they made themselves so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to crave his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull service his Father had done him: how he was his Homager, under his tutelary charge, and had no other sanctuary of succour to flye unto, in this case of his malicious and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne: And so farre urged the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to have him be, though not too strong, and peradventure rather him than his Competitor *Guy de Burgoigne*) ayded him in Person with a puissant Armie against these Competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and resolution to bid them bataille, as they to assaile them. Heere one *Guillefon*, Vncle to *Viconte Neel* by the mother, forced his Horse into the Battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: Which Conte *Saint Paul* perceiving, hastes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but *Guillefon* soone gets up, and though his Horse was slaine under him, by *Castillon*, he escapes out of the presse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recovered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his Person, to avenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most upon) shewed effects of an all-daring and Magnanimous Prince, And yet had not *Ralph de Tesson* beene false to his fellowes to recover faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

After which, divers of the Conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the Mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Countryman (who of a private Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicily*, within the space of twelve yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome; and especially *Guillefon*, for having incountred with a King in the midst of his bataille, which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the revolutions of those times, it shall not lye out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italy* upon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drengot*, and *Williams Repossell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forrest of *Rouvery* (neere *Roan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* slew *Repossell*, in his presence, and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where he, with his small Company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke de *Benevento*, to serve him against the *Saracens* and *Africans*, which miserably infested *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruit of which entertainment

certainment was no sooner spred in *Normandy*, but divers Valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good Fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, utterly chased and and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselves rid of their enemies, would have beene glad likewise (their turne served) to be rid of their Friends, and either using them more unkindely than of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords upon their Interainers. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the *Rendezvous*, and receipt of booty: And so augmenting still their Winnings, obtained Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. And after the death of *Drengot*, succeeded other gallant Leaders, and at length *Tancred*, Signior de *Hauteville*, in *Constantine*, with his twelve sons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third son *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attained the command, and was a man of faire stature, cleare judgement, and indefatigable courage. He conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; relieved *Michael Ducas*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeated *Nicephorus* that usurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: swayed the whole state of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to have obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had he not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the states of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a private Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leave a succession of Kings & Princes after him, & died the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the love and favour of Fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans* during this civill warres the Duke had with so many Competitors; and every overthrow he gave them, augmented *Guiscard*'s forces in *Italy*; and especially this battell of *Dunes*; which ended not the Dukes travailles, for *Guy de Burgoigne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Briorn* and *Verneville*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselves; whereby they re-obtained their Signiories, but had their Castles demolished.

Having ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffrey Martle* Earle of *Anjou*, who waiting upon the Duke, *Etouvin*, incroached also upon his neighbours States; and usurped *Alençon*, *Dampfront*, and *Passau*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*. Which to recover, the Duke leavies an Army, and first got *Alençon*, where (for that he was opprobriously scorned by the besiedged, who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel, La Pel*, in reproach of the baseness of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) he shewed extreame cruelty. Then layes he siege to *Dampfront*; which to relieve, Count *Murteil* comes with his greatest forces; and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights to deliver this message to the Earle, That if he came to victuall *Dampfront*, he should finde him there the Port so to keepe him out: Whereto the Earle returns this answer, Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he shall have me there on a white horse, ready to give him the Combat, and I will enter *Dampfront* if I can; And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield, without any device.

Roger

Roger replies, *Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morninge you shall have the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse, and that you may know him, he shall wear on the point of his lance, a feather of Taffetye, to mislead your sight.* Here with returning, each side prepares for the morning: When the Earle, busie in ordering his battells, was advertised by two Horse-men, that came crossing the field, how *Dampfrance*, for certaine was repared to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, he presently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in passing a streight) cut off, by *Erconne Neel*, who for that service, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes favour, whom he ever after faithfully served. Those of *Dampfrance*, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselves to the Duke, who with his arminges and forces removed from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontire Towne of Count *Marcell*, and by the way (had it not beene by himselfe discovered) he had bene utterly overthrowne by ambush, which gave him much to doe, and lost him many brave men. Where with he grew so enraged, that he rushed into the troups of his enemies, made at Count *Marcell*, (strake him downe with his sword, clavy his Helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet he escaped out of the preasse, though divers were taken, and the *Anjouins* utterly defeated.

With this lucke was travailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: *William Guelin*, Earle of *Montaigne*, descended from *Richard the second*: And *William* Earle of *Eu* and *Montreuil*, issuing from *William*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Effelin*, Countesse of *Montreuil*: the first upon suspicion, the other upon proofe, of an intention, was banished, and thence sent to the Earle of *Moraigne*, he gave to *Robert*, that of *Eu*, to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*), both his brethren by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these scornes, conspiracies, and uncke workings at home, hee passed before he was full 22. yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to undoe him. But now, more to underster and strengthen his state, against future practises, hee cometh to an assembly of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, causing them to sweare their oath of Fealty, and raze their Castles, which done, he married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin the first*, Earle of *Flanders*, but not without contest and trouble: for his Niece, *Margaret*, Arch-bishop of *Reims*, excommunicates him, for marching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, she being daughter to *Elenor*, daughter to *Richard the second*, and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence (upon a dispensation from *Pope Victor*), they were enjoyned the building of certaine Hospitals for blinde people: and two Abbeyes, the one for men, the other for women, which were erected at *Caen*, and *Caen* did not profit by the same.

This match, and the over-matching his enemies, set him so high a marke of envy, in the eye of *France*, which naturally loved not the *Normans*, (whom in reproach they usually called *Tyngons*), as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell by which to come in easily doe to set upon him: and to make it looke the fairest, pretends to adreede the insolence of the *Normans* committed upon his Territories, and to relieve Count *Marcell* oppressed by the Duke: besides all this, *It was said* him to have had justice, to have that Province, which he had by Crowne, to be governed by a Prince of lawfull blood, according to Christian order and Lawe Ecclesiasticall. And therefore resolveth utterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legitimate Prince in the Duchie.

The Duke marries Matilde daughter of Baldouin the first Earle of Flanders.

The reasons why the King of France wars with the Normans.

For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the River *Scin*, the other into the Countrey of *Bessin*, as meaning to encompass him.

The Duke likewise divides his forces into two parts, sends his brother *Odo*, Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Gifford*, Earle of *Longueville*, and others with the one, to the Countrey of *Caux*; himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and provisions out of the flat Countrey, into Cities & Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. The Kings army marching from *Beauvais*, to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Countrey full of all provisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and rest there all that night; thinking the *Normans* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which the Army in *Caux* conducted by *Otho* understanding, marched all night, and by breake of day, gave them so hot an alarm, and so sodaine, as put them all in a rout leaving horse, and armour, & all to the assaylants, who made such a destruction of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recovers his peace, and the Castle of *Thoullyers*, taken from him in his under-age. Count *Marcell*, though much dismayed at the Kings overthrow, yet leaves not to make some attempts for the recovering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke he saw was too well beloved and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger arme. Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe to importune the King of *France*, to aide him against the Duke: who he said, *Was now growne so insolent upon this peace, and the victory hee had shakke, and not woult, that there was no living for his neighbours neere him.* Besides, the *Normans* had the French in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely sport, and the subject of their rimmes: as if a King of *France*, upon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonourable peace.

With which infligation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army farre mightier than before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelve Earles, and notwithstanding the solempne peace made, and so lately sworn with the Duke, he enters *Normandy* in the harvest time, over-runnes and spoiles all the Countrey, along the coast to *Rosin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpose to passe the river *Dive* at *Varenville*, to destroy the Countreies of *Auge*, *Licence*, and *Raumoys*, even to *Rouen*, and finding the cause-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vanguard to passe over first: and to secure his Arrier-gard conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himselfe stales behinde in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William* (who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victual) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Fallaise*, as hee could; hath no Army in the field, but a running campe, to be ready to take all advantages: lets the furie of the storme spend itselfe, and having advertisement of this passage, marched all night with ten thousand men, and in the morning early, lets upon the Arrier-gard, with so sodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the cause-way hearing this noise behinde, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get over the bridge, with such a crowd and preesse, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the river. They who were got over, could not returne to aide the rest, nor the King (by reason of the Mathes on both sides) yeeld any succour to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whom one was

The defeiture of the Army of the King of France by the Normans.

The army of the King of France overthrowne at Varenville by the Normans.

was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (favouring his great worth) had made Count *De Soissons*.

The griefe of this overthrow, shortly after gave the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a joyfull peace, which he nobly employed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbeys at *Cæn* (where hee also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so possesse him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what he would.

During this calme of his life, he makes a journey over into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preservation, and breeding he had in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gave him most Royall entertainment: and here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) he found matter of his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he discovered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shells, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some faction closely contrived betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driven into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a journey of purpose to the Duke, is not certainly delivered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likely-hood to divide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and doe his best to help him to the Crowne, upon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoever it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes upon the Evangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of divers great persons. Besides, for more assurance, *Harold* was fianced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Walnot* left a pledge for the performance.

This intercourse made the trans-action of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neither act, if any such were, was of power to prejudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gave the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validitie at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome. For the Successour is not said to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot be put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as he had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harold*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, Soliciting an extension of their utmost means for his recovery thereof, and avengement of the perjury of *Harold*; shewing them apparant probabilities of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunely laid open for them, if they apprehended

The Duke comes to visite his kinsman.

Harold goeth over into *Normandy*. His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Normandy*.

bended the present occasion. All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt; & those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne upon any adventure that might promise any likelihood of advancement. The rest were of divers opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold & defend their own Country: without hazarding themselves, to conquer others, and these were men of the best abilities: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little advance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tired with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were unwilling to undergoe a certaine trouble, for an uncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplexe him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: he deales with his nearest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would adventure their whole estates with him. As *William* first *Auber*, Conte de *Bretteville*, *Gualter* *Gnifford* Earle of *Longueville*, *Roger* de *Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers; which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William* first *Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assembly, doubting if the action succeeded without their helpe, the Duke (arriving to that greatnesse) would beare in minde; what little minde they shewed to advance his desires, began to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yielding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops, & great men apart, so effectually, as at length he got of them severally, which of altogether hee could never have compassed; and causing each mans contribution to be registred, in kindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now strived who should doe most.

And not onely won he the people of his owne Provinces, to undertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to adventure their persons, and much of their estate with him; as *Robert* first *Harunys*, Duke of *Orleanse*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poitou*, *Mayne*, *Nevers*, *Hiesms*, *Aumal*, *Le Signior de Tours*, and even his mortall enemy *Marcel*, Earle of *Anjou*, became to be as forward as any. All which, he sure could never have induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these advancements and turne of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, & a state of minds prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* nation, would adventure their lives and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more than *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must be corrupted, and there will fall out all advantages to serve that businesse.

The King of *France*, who should have franted this desseigne in the birth, was a child, and under the curature of *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to have rather furtherance than any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if he conquered this Kingdome, to hold it of that King, as he did the Duchie of *Normandy*, and doe him ho-

The subrill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

The French likewise aide the Duke.

The reason of the Dukes power.

mage for the same; which would adde a great honour to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make Religion give reputation and avowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique See, if he prevailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Bannet of the Church, with an *Agnus* of gold, and one of the haire of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* the fourth, sent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembered: so that we see it was not *Normandy* alone that subdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aides of other Princes. And by these meanes, made hee good his undertaking; and within eight moneths was ready furnished with a powerfull Army at *Valery* in *Normandy*, whence he transported the same into *England* in 896. shippes, as some write. And thus was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

And now having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembered, at *Hastings*, the fourteenth of October 1066. he marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland* and *Merland* (brothers of eminent dignity and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conservation of the State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops averse or wavering. For, as then, to the Clergy, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Province a-part, devided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken up so much of the world before hand, upon credit and fame of his pietie and bounty, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to give way to the present Fortune.

The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must have a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion than providence; and to be now behinde hand to receive him, with more than submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them strive and run headlong, who should be the first to pre-occupate the grace of servitude, and intrude them into forraine subjection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might have beene for good use) were hereby left without a steere, and could not move irregularly. So that all estates in generall, either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsook themselves and their distressed Country. Vpon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobilitie, Magistrates, and People, rendering themselves in all obedience unto him: and he returning plausible protestation of his future Governement, was on Christmas day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically invested in his See; and yet thought to have beene a forward mover of this alteration.

Here, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, took their oaths, to be his true and loyall subjects, and he reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Restars of the same: To governe the Universall People, subject unto him, justly: To establish equall Lawes; and to see them duly executed. Nor did he ever claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular

1066.
Anno
Reg. 1.

Reasons for
the yeelding
of the Clergy.

What moved
the Nobles to
yeeld.

The Corona-
tion and oath
of William 1.

ular Prince submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to have his Testamentary Title (howsoever weak) to make good his succession, rather than his sword. And though the stile of *Conquerour* by the flattery of the time, was after given him; he shewed by all the course of his governement he assumed it not: introducing none of those alterations (which followed) by violence, but by a milde gathering upon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and government of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, he returns into *Normandy*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

And to leave here all safe behind him, he comits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his Cousin *Fitz * Auber*, whom he had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likest to be heads to a revolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Arch-bishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noble-men: Besides, to unburden his charge, and disimpester his Court; he tooke backe with him all the *French* Adventurers, and such as were men, rewarding them as faire as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made up in faire promises.

In his absence, which was all the whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his ayde, and foraged onely the remote borders of that Country: The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of the new world, wherein yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Province, the State of *England* would be but enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull and not overpeopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

Having disposed his affaires of *Normandy*, he returns towards winter into *England*, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; First, such Adventurers, with whom he had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or neednesse, looked for recompence, whereof the number being so great, many must have their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he must now subsist: For being not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if he should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) he was likewise to give them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to doe, than in his battell at *Hastings*; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not but be irksome to the state in generall; & all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet we finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselves out, by revolting, after his establishment, and their fealty given; as appears by the controversie betweene *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburne* of *Sherburne* Castle in *Norfolke*, which Castle, though the King had given to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburne* alledged, How he never bare Armes against him: that he was his subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subjects) the King gave judgement against *Warren*, and also commanded, that *Sherburne* should

King William
submits
to the
orders of the
Kingdome
of England.

* Or Osme.

King William
returns
into Normandy
with the
chiefe Nobility
of England.

King William
returns into
England.

ambten
Nors.

M. S.

1067.

Anno

Reg. 2

The English Nobility forsake the kingdome.

The King of Scots enters league with the English Nobility, and married Edgars sister.

1068

Anno

Reg. 3.

hold his Land in peace: So that it seemes, he contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling up their places, who were slaine in the battell; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to advance, hee disperfed abroad into Abbeyes, thers to live till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abby of *Ely*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suiters at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch over the *Cleargie*, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might prevaile with the people.

But the English Nobilitie, incompatible of these new concurrences; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needs lessen their splendour; that many of the chieft, doubting to be more impaired in honor and estate, conspired together, and fled, some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to trie if by aide from abroad, they might recover themselves, and their fortunes again at home. Among which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (tearmed *Englands Darling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retire into *Hungary* (their native Country) were driven by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distressed; and whom it concerned now to look to his owne, his neighbours house being thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommen, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not only to entertaine this Prince, dispossessed of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; hee takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar*, (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the blood of our ancient Kings was preserved, and conjoynd with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repaired the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Steward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Alred*, Arch-bishops, with divers of the Clergy: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egarly to recover their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setting of the government, whilst it was new, and branling, they prevailed nothing, but gave advantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more than he was: For all conspiracies of Subjects, if they succede not, advance the Soveraignty: and nothing gave roote to the *Norman* planting here, more than the petty revolts made by disscattered troupes, in severall parts, begun without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recovery, but by a generall sublevation of the people, for which all wary preventions were used, and they had waies enough laid on, to hold them downe. And these Lords imbroiled themselves and held him doing in the North, yet he having all the South parts settled under his dominion, with well practised and prepared Forces, there could be little hope of good, whilst all their great Estates furnished the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* held in *Yorkeshire*, were given to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke of *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *York*, on *Thomas* his Chaplaine; and all the rest both of the Clergy and

and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeased a commotion in the West, which the sonnes of *Harald*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raised, and also repressed the rebellion of *Excester* and *Oxford*, he takes his journey in person Northward with all expedition (lest the enemy there, should grow too high in heart and opinion, upon the great slaughter of his people, made at *York*; and the defeiture of his brother and Lieutenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaine*, slaine with seven hundred *Normans* at *Durham*:) where, at his first comming he so wrought, that he either discomfited, or corrupted the Generals of the *Danicque* forces (newly arrived to aide the Lords, sent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, under the conduct of his two sonnes, *Harold* and *Knute*, with a Navy of three hundred saile:) and after sets upon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, he utterly wasted, and laide desolate, all that goodly Country betweene *York* and *Durham*, the space of 60 miles; as it might be no more a succour to the enemy; And the like course he used on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for invasions; and so returns to *London*.

Most of the Lords after this defeat, came in, upon publique faith given them, and were conducted to *Barkhamsted*, by the Abbot *Fredricke*: where, upon their submission and Oath of Allegiance re-taken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace granted by the King, who it seemes was so willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his personall Oath before the Arch-bishop *Lanfranc*, and the Lords, To observe the ancient Lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of *England*, and especially of *Edward the Confessor*. Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether upon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was still in *Scotland*;) or growne desperate of new displeasure at home, finding small performance of promises made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle *Edwin*, making toward *Scotland*, was murdered by his owne people. The Lords *Morchar* and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Isle of *Elie*, meaning to make good, that place for that Winter; whither also repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King who was no time-giver unto growing dangers, besets all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and made a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people upon the enemy, who seeing themselves surprized; yeilded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who desperately marched with his people through the Fens; and recovered *Scotland*: The rest were sent to divers Prisons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life. Those Lords who persisted loyall upon this last submission, were all employed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the *Forrester* (and first that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleare trust, and neere about him. *Gospatric* he made Earle of *Northumberland*; and sent him against *Malcolin*, who in this time, subdues the Countreies of *Tisidall*, *Cleveland* and *Cumberland*: *Waltheof*, sonne to the Earle *Syward*, he held so worthy to be made his, as he married him to his Neece *Indith*, though he had bene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (& in defending the city of *York* against him, is said to have stricken off the heads of divers *Normans*, one by one, as they entred a breach, to the admiration of all about him) shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to love vertue in his enemies.

1074.
Anno.
Reg. 8.

And now seeing *Scotland* to be the especiall retraite for all Conspirators, & discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* lived, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter, for their hopes, and at hand for all advantages; he enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army; which, encountering with more necessities than forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the Victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and upon faire overtures, to conclude a peace; Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Heere with the univerfall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland*, (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to have likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the *English*, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and dayly repaying thither for their safety, and combination against the Common enemy: of whom divers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their offspring into many Noble families, remaying to this day: The titles of distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the Nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Signories*, (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of the father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innovations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes growing in every soyle.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him ever after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsoever for his owne, being thought to have ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seasonable intelligence, or despaire of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was later or never to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fitz Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse Commandement, gave his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waber*, Earle of *Norfolke*, & *Susfolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Fustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came over to this Festivall) and with the Earle *Walsheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who having thus passed over so many gulfes of forraigne dangers, might little imagine of any wrack so neere home: and that those, whom he had most advanced, should have the especial hand in his destruction. But no rewards are benefites that are not held so, nor can ever cleare the accounts with them that over value their merits. And had not this opportunely beene discovered (which some say, that by the Earle *Walsheof*, mooved with the ugliness of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewraied before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vicegerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* & others, who kept the conspirators from joining their forces: So that they never came to make head, but were either surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Walsheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get his pardon for his consent, though much compassion in respect

of

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of *Irish*.

Titles of honour in *Scotland*.

1175.
Anno
Reg. 9.
1176.
Anno
Reg. 10.
1177.
Anno
Reg. 11.

of his great worthinesse. But the wide distance of these tumors, fed from many secret veins, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extremitie of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, upon any the like humours.

For, this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may wel be gathered by their several actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Ralph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bolognet* towards the Conspirators: In *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Navy of two hundred sayle, under the conduct of his sonne *Knute* and others. In *Droge* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harald* with sixty five ships. In *Malcoline*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken upon the coasts of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after arrived to disturbe this land. Though in *Anno Reg. 10* *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repayre the dishonour of his two last adventures past) and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predecessours had holden; prepared a Navy of a thousand sayle, and was ayded with sixe hundred more by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter he had married.) But the windes held so contrary for two yeares together, as utterly quasht that enterprize, and freed the King, and his successors for everafter, from future molestation that way.

But this businesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining all that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great Families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, than the *Normans*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, saving in *An. Reg. 13*, he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there to do him homage. His wars abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne son *Robert*, left Lieutenant-governor of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and County of *Maynes*, who in his fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Province, causing the Barons there, to do him homage (as Duke) not as Lieutenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*, who working upon the easinesse of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disjoyn his estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, where to *Robert* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible as the means to imbarke him in those difficulties, of still getting money, that could not but yeeld continuall occasion to entertaine both his owne discontent and theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased the title of *Count*, yet he lost the opinion of good government, and constrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his Father of the great concussion, and violent exactions he used amongst them.

The King understanding the fire thus kindled in his own house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his son: who advertized of his coming, furnished with 2000 men at arms by the king of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe, sets upon him, defeated most of his people, & in the pursuit hapned to encounter with himself, whom he unhorsed, & wounded in the arme with his Limbe; but perceiving by his voyce it was his father, he halted to remount him, humbly craving

E 3

pardon

1078.
Anno
Reg. 12
1079.

Anno
Reg. 13
The Kings of
Wales doe ho-
mage to King
William.

Robert of
Normandy
sued Countie.

pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what a case he was) granted, howsoever he gave; and upon his submission tooke him with him to *Rouen*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

1080.

Anno
Reg. 14.Robert rebels
against his
Father.

1081.

Anno
Reg. 15.

1082.

Anno
Reg. 16.Louis and
Henry sonnes
of the Kings
of England
and France.

1026.

Anno
Reg. 10.King William
denies to doe
homage for
England to
the King of
France.

1089.

Anno
Reg. 21.His govern-
ment in peace

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sonnes remutining, and how he exacted upon the *Normans*, usurpt the intire government, and urged his fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, upon his conquest of *England*: which caused his little stay here, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was driven on the coast of *Spain*, but at length at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations his sonne *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now took with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imployed him in the hard and necessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace being betwene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young sonne *Henry*, with the association of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the government of *Normandy*.

After the two Princes had bene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*; where feasting certaine dayes, upon an after dinner, *Henry* won so much at Chesse of *Louis*, the Kings eldest sonne, as hee grew into Choller, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes up the Chesse-board, and strake *Louis*, with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much ado they recovered *Pontoise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising, upon the inter-meeting of these Princes (a thing that seldome breedes good blood amongst them) re-enkindled a hate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betwene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandie*, and takes the Cittie of *Vermon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zaintonge* and *Poitou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his son *Robert* is reconciled unto him, which much disappoines and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England* to doe him homage for the Kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying, *He had it of none but God and his sword*. For the Dutchy of *Normandy*, he offers him homage; but that would not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing would, but what he could not have, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motive of his quarrell: and againe invades his territories, but with more losse than profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer than King *William* had recovered a sickness, whereinto (through his late travell, age, and corpulencie) he was fallen: at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, feasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd hee lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as he being recovered, he gathers all his best forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came even to *Paris*, where the King of *France*, then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his up-firing, and from thence marches to the Cittie of *Meaux*, which he utterly sackt and in the destruction thereof, gain his owne, by the straying of his horse, among the breaches, and was then conveyed sick to *Rouen*, and so ended his wars. Now for his government in peace, and the course he held in the establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after he had repress the conspiracies in the North, and well quietted all the other parts of the State (which

now

now being absolutely his, he would have to be ruled by his owne Law) he began to governe all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreed Lords, and sad people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Be-seeching him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdome: under whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliver them up to be judged by a strange Law they understood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that he was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gave commandment unto his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of *Saint Edward* (so called, not that hee made them, but collected them out of *Merchen-law*, *Dane-law*, and *West-sex-law*) *To be inviolably observed throughout the Kingdome.* And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second, and King *John*, to the same effect; there followed a great innovation both in the Lawes and government in *England*. So that this seemes rather to be done to acquit the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, than that they enjoyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betwene them of former times, and these that followed upon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might be some veines issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all objections can be made to the contrary. For before these collectiōs of the *Confessors*, there was no universall Law of the Kingdome, but every severall Province held their own customes, all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* used the *Danike Law*; *Merchland*, the midst of the Country; & the State of the *West Saxons*, had their severall constitutions, as being severall Dominions; and though for some few yeares, there seemed to be a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as we may see in the succession of a broken government) as to settle one forme or order currant over all: but that every Province, according to their particular Founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides Religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the universality of *Menni & Thum*, ordered according to the rites of nations, and that *Ius innatum*, the common law of all the world; which we see to be as universall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and served the turne to hold them together in all Countreies, howsoever they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, we see what way we came, where we are, and the furthest end we can discover of the originall of our Common law, and to strive to looke beyond this, is to looke into an uncertaine Vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approve their gentilitie; seeing it is the equitie, and not the Antiquity of Lawes, that makes them venerable, and by the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankind, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that providence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England*, bred most heaveie dolefullnes, not onely in this Kings time, but long after. For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *French*, and practised wholly in the *Norman* forme and Languages; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that speech for their owne neede, which otherwise they would not doe; And seeing a difference

What were
the Lawes of
England.The origin
of the Com
mon Law
now used.The Law of
England put
into a for-
raine langu-
age.

difference in tongue, would not continue a difference in affections; all means were wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or over-laying the Land-bred people; who being so farre in number (as they were) above the Invadors; both retaine the maine of the Language; and in few yeares, have those who subdued them, undistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solide bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as rivers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that he could, to turn all into *French*, By enjoying their children here to use no other Language with their Grâmer in Schooles, to have the Lawes practised in *French*, all petitions and business of Court in *French*, No man graced but he that spake *French*; yet soone after his dayes, all returns naturall *English* againe (but Law) and that still held forraine, and became in the end wholly to be inclosed in that Language: nor have we now, other marke of our subjection and in vassalage from *Normandy*, but onely that, and that still speaks *French* to us in *England*.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Constitutions, new formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*, a people more inured to litigation, & of spirits more impatient, and contentious, than were the *English*: who (by reason of their continuall war, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at unities in their private: and that small time of peace they had, Devotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and Constitutions before, wee see them, plaine, brieve, and simple, without perplexities, having neither fold nor pleit; commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as brieve and simple, which shewed them a cleare-meaning people, retaining stil the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, uncomposed of other fashion than their owne, and unaffeeting imitation.

And for their trials (in cases criminall) where manifest prooffe failed, they continued their auncient Custome, held from before their Christianity (untill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (signifying) *Right, Deale, Part*, whereof they had these kinds: *Ordeal by fire* which was for the better sort, and by water for the inferiour: That of *Fire*, was to goe blindfold over certaine plough-shares, made red hote, and laide an uneven distance one from another. That of *Water* was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to be cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adjudged: Such as were cast into the rivers, if they sanke were held guiltlesse; if not, culpable, as ejected by that Bloment. These trials they called the judgements of God, and they were performed with solemn Oarisons. In some cases The accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiving the *Eucharist*, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three; but this was for especiall persons, and such, whose livings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the usuall opinion perswading them, that men of abilitie held a more regard of honesty.

With these, they had the trial of *Campe fight, or single combat* (which likewise the *Lombards*, originally of the same German Nation, brought into Italy) permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions. All which trials, shewed them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; nor would they be induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificall Constitutions, no more than would the *Lombards* forsake their duellary Lawes in Italy, which their

Princes

The English trials in cases Criminall.

Men of abilitie cleared by their Oathes.

Princes (against some of their wills) were constrained to ratifie, as *Luytprandus* their King thus ingeniously confesses: *We are uncertaine of the judgement of God, and we have heard many by fight, to have lost their cause; yet in respect of the Custome of our Nation, we cannot avoide an impious Law*. But all these Formes of judgements and trials, had their seasons: those of Fire and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew dis-used, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope; as derived from Paganisme: That of *Combat* continued longer-lived, but of no ordinarie use: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adjudged by the verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is used, and called by the name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day. Although some hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of use in this Kingdome from all Antiquitie, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (Father to the Confessor) willing in their Gemote or conventions, monethly held in every Hundred, twelve grave men of free condition, should with the Greve, the Chiefe Officer amongst them, sweare upon the Evangelists, to judge every mans cause aright. But here we see twelve men were to be assessors with the Greve to judge, and no Jurors, according to this manner of triall now used; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell have heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeall*, onely and usuall mentioned.

But whatsoever innovations were in all other things; the government of the peace & security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke to) seemes to be continued as before, & for that business he found here better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, than any he could bring. Amongst which especially was the *Borough Law*, whereby every free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sort.

The Kingdome was divided into Shieres or Shares; every Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and every Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containing ten houldsholders, whereof; if any one should commit an unlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If he fled, thirty one dayes were enjoyned him to appeare: if in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-borough-head (to say the Tything-man) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adjoining as many (that is, the Tything-man, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that Hundred, purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they suffised not to satisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make up the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accessory to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recover him, or know where he were: Besides, every Lord and Master, stood Borough, for all his Family, whereof, if any servant were called in question, the Master was to see him answer it in the Hundred, where he was accused. If he fled, the Master was to yeeld such goods as he had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be aiding or privie to his servants flight, he was to cleare himselfe by five men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.

These linkes thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most politique regiments upon earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot shew us a streighten Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, coming upon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as he did; This *Borough-law* (being as a Citadell,

The English trials.

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

No popular
insurrection
before the
Conquest.

The means
used by the
Normans, to
establish his
Conquest.
Alteration of
the Govern-
ment.

The order of
deciding con-
troversies in
the Saxons
time.

New orders
instituted by
the Normans.

The alterati-
on of Tenures

Lambert.
Freehold.

The Tenure
of Gavel kin.

The customes
of Kent pre-
served by the
mediation of
the Archbi-
shop Stigand.

Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth; comming to be posselt by a Conquering Master) was made to turn all this Ordinance upon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may be some cause, we find no popular insurrection before the Cōquest. For had not this people beene bound with these Fetters, and an idle peace (but had lived loofe, and in action) it is like they would have done as nobly, and given as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as ever the Brittaines did, either against the Romans, or the Saxons, their predecessours, or themselves had done against the Danes; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous than these. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had Normandy ever beene able to have yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must have had.

But now, *First, the executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preventing their night-meetings with a heavy penalty, that everie man at the day closing, should cover his fire, and depare to his rest. Fourthly, erecting divers Fortresses, in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating all offices, both of command, and judicature, on those who were his; made his domination such as he would have it.*

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all businesse in every Shire, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benefits of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergy, within the Province of their owne Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, to deale onely in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Canons, and Lawes Episcopall.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King Edward Senior, all matters in question should, upon especiall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their Gemote, or conventions held monthly in every handred: now he ordained, *That four times in the yeare, for certaine dayes, the same businesse should be determined in such place as hee would appoint, where hee constituted Judges to attend for that purpose, and others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigators should have Justice, and from whom was no appeale. Others hee appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called Iusticiarij Pacis.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may find by taking note of their former usances. *Our Ancestors had only two kindes of tenures, Book-land, and Folk-land, the one a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the German manner, equally divided to all the children, which they called Land-skiftan, to say, Part-land, a custome yet continued in some places of Kent, by the name of Gavel-kin, of Giseal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retained their ancient lawes and liberties, by especiall grant from the Conquerour, who after his battell at Hastings, comming to Dover, to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Province, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, & marching round about him like a moving wood. With which strange and sodaine shew being much moved, the Arch-bishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsin, who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what danger they were, utterly to lose their liberties, & to endure the perpetuall misery of servitude, under the domination*

domination of strangers) present themselves, and declared, *How they were the universall people of the Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands, either as Olive branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leave their lives, than that which was dearer, their freedom.* Whereupon they say, the Conqueror granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, than such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable than before) upon their petition and compassion of their oppression he releaved, their case was this. All such as were discovered to have had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enjoy the benefit of life, having all their lively-hood taken from them, became vassals unto those Lords to whom the possessions were given, of all such Lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent service, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without having any estate for themselves, or their children; and were oftentimes violently cast out upon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious service, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inviolable Law, during their own lives.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his revenues, taking a course to make, and know the utmost of his estate, by a generall survey of his Kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome Booke of Winchester*, taken before by King Alfred. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choise of skilfuller men employed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and every mans else in the Kindome, the nature and the qualitie of their lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and divisions of Shires, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soveraigne Court of that name of Normandy) before termed here *Talée*, and it was called the *Dome booke* (*Liber judicarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars.

All the Forrests and Chafes of the Kingdome, he seized into his owne possession; and exempted them from being under any other Law than his owne pleasure, to serve as *Penetrabilia Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to have to do, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated; and to make his command the more, he increased the number of them in all the parts of the Land, and on the South coast dispeopled the Country for above thirtie miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most severe punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much advances his revenues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost every King neere the Conquest) till this heavy grievance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by Henry the third.

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and used those he found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an imposition of two shillings upon every

Geruasius
Tilburienst.
Dialog. Scacc.

Villanage.

A survey
made of the
Kingdome.

Geruasius
Tilburienst.
de Scacc.
Dome booke.

ibid.

The new for-
rest in Ham-
shire.

He imposed
no new taxa-
tions.

The occasion
of paying
Escuage.

The customes
of Fifts.

By what
meanes hee
increased his
Revenewes.

The Law for
murder re-
newed, first
made by King
Knut.

Gervasius
Tilb.

King *William*
seized upon
the Treasure
committed to
Monasteges.

every hide or plough-land (raised first by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre upon them) he would not have it made an annuall payment, but onely taken upon urgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successours (saith *Gervasius*;) yet we finde in our *Annals*, a taxe of sixe shillings upon every head-land, leavied presently after the generall survey of the Kingdome. *Escuage* (whether it were an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named, I doe not finde) was a summe of money, taken of every Knights Fee: In after times, especially raised for the service of *Scotland*; And this also, saith *Gervasius*, was seldome leavied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatives to souldiers: yet was it at first a due, reserved out of such lands as were given by the Prince for service of warre, according to the Customes of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time we finde Lands were given in reward of services to the men of warre, for terme of their lives, as they are at this day in *Turkey*. After they became patrimoniall, and hereditary to their children. *Severus* the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to enjoy their Fifts, provided that they followed armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, under the last Kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fifts of the King, subdivided them to other persons, of whom they were to have service.

Mulctuary profits besides, such as might arise by the breach of the Forrest-lawes, he had, few or none new, unlesse that of murder, which arose upon this occasion. In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the *English* towards the new-come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murderd them; & the deed doers (for any the severest courses taken) could never be discovered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine, and the murderer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 26. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred; that the punishment being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, and hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interested.

For his provisionary revenewes, he continued the former custome held by his Predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crown, paid no money at all; but onely Vltuals, Wheate, Beefes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a just note of the qualitie and quantitie of every mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shires of the kingdome, and leavied ever certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings House. Other ordinary In-come of ready moneyes was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not used: what the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that never reached so farre before; and the first hand, he laid upon that side which weighed heavily, was his seizing upon the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the Rebels and their assistants, and free their riches into these religious houses (as into places priviledged conveyed from seizure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, he made all Bishopricks, and Abbeyes that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular services) contributory to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules over the memorie of Kings) have laid such an eternall imposition upon his name, of rigour, oppression, and

even

even barbarous immanitie, as they have done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affayres (being as he was) may advocate for him, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which ever imports violence and misery, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot give a Conqueror his due (how ever worthy) and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly advantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customes, in the yonger sort, and well inured the elder to the present usances, and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sonnes: who (though they were farre inferior to him in worth) were somewhat better beloved, than he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to unwrest the Sovereignty from that height, whereunto he had strayned it.

Now he was underfet with able Ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut us out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have their Ministers like Rivers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of Iudgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; for weak Kings have ever weak sides, and the most renowned Princes are always best stored with able Ministers. The principall of highest imploiment, were *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and the Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz Auber*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasurie: A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a concept of greatness, as the height of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his avarice and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of *England* upon the death of the King his brother: who (understanding hee had a purpose of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering unto him) made a close prison stay his journey: excusing it to the Church, that he imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant unto him. Yet upon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that he would, in respect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motive of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition evermore turnes about her intentions) was the envy he bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially used: and to oppose and over-bear him, hee tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) he attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the sledge of *Antioch*.

Lanfranc was a man of as universall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to doe good to *England*; upon whose observance, though the King might (in regard hee raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon* the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else have fallen into. For the Conquerour (howsoever austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with gravity and vertue.

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He

His Coun-
cellors.

The Bishop
of *Bayeux* as
an Earle of
Kent, commit-
ted to Prison.

Reserved for
greater mis-
chiefe.

Lanfranc.

The reformation of the Clergy by Lanfranc.

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to be an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to give entertainment to devotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and convenience to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Having long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an even course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State-building King: and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, divining of future mischiefs by present courses, grew much to lament (with his Friends) the tediousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing he would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber (as is delivered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes; yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger than any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gave often sharpe offence to the King, who could not endure any such improvident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Provinces) he ordayned, *That in the Countrey of Hereford, no man of warre (or souldier) should be fined for any offence whatsoever above seven shillings*; when in other Countreies, upon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shillings. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of *England* and *Normandy*, a chiefe Favorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richeld*, Countesse Dowager of *Flanders*, and to have the government of that Countrey, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son; of whom, with the King of *France*, he had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldwin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate *Robert le Frison* his unckle (called by the people to the government, upon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*) had usurped. And against him *Fitz Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph* surprized and slaine.

And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beaumont*, *Monfort*, *Harcourt*, *Hugh de Gournay*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Conte de Vannes*, &c. And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to have laine neglected, while his servants attending to imbeasle his moveables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henry*, had it conveyed to the Abbey of *Cane*; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to bee intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his Inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Row*, their first Founder for Justice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such a doe had the body of him after death (who had

William Fitz Auber Earle of *Hereford* made Lawes in his Province.

The death of *William* the first.

His Corpes lay unburied three dayes.

His interment hindred.

had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attained, had not now a roome to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a living Dog more than a dead Lyon.

He had a faire Issue by *Maud* his wife, foure sonnes, and six daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third son, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to be payd him by his Brother. *Richard* who was his second sonne, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow; and of *Richard* the sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His eldest daughter *Citile*, became a Nun; *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittain*, *Adulato* Stephen Earle of *Blois*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun in her age; such was then their devotion, and so much were these solitary retires affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warren*, the first Earle of *Surry*, the other two, *Elia* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* dyed before marriage.

Now, what he was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, we finde him of an even stature; comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat unweildy; of so strong a constitution, as he was never sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdyed this Kingdome, it seemes by his continuall actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares upon him till his last yeare.

What was the composition of his minde; we see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his undertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great work he effected. And though he might have some advantage of the time, wherein wee often see men prevaile more by the imbecility of others, than their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a just measure taken out of his active vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incouters and concurrences of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Having on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, far mightier in people and shipping than himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome; as eager to recover their former footing here, as ever, and as well or better prepared.

For his devotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Majesty, they appeare above all his other vertues, and the due observation of the first, the Clergy (that loved him not) confesse: the other was scene, in the often pardoning, and receiving into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if he held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and sought not to defeat men, but their enterprizes: For we finde but one Noble man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before: and those he held prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Synward*, with *Wolnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and others (upon compassion of their indurance) he releas'd a little before his death.

Besides, he was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as he gave *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (upon his suite) sent him well furnish'd to the holy War, where he nobly behaved himselfe, and attained to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaines* which might

His Issue.

The description of *William* the first.

His devotion and mercy.

But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

might have been held dangerous in respect of his alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well virtues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must have part of this commendations.

His workes
of Piety.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predecessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Province, seven Abbeyes of Monkes and six of Nunnes; with which Fortresses (as he sayd) hee furnished *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Divell. In *England* he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination; and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-shire*, and the other at *Armshevi* in *Cumberland*, besides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Festivals, which with great solemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reverence and respect) he duly observed: Keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and *Pentecost* at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State and largesse. Nor ever was he more milde and indulgent, than at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor observed; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the first.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1087.
Anno
Reg. 1.

William the second, sonne to *William* the first, not attending his Fathers Funerall, hastes into *England* to recover the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-Bishop *Laufanc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) hee obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom by his obsequiousnesse hee had much endeared himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. Hee was a Prince more gallant than good, and having beene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Sovereignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succede in a Government, fore-ruled by Mature and grave Counsell, he was so over-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe than otherwise hee would have done. And then the shortnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirtene yeares, allowed him not time to recover that opinion, which the errors of the first government had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, being none of his, and the elder brother living: howsoever his Fathers will was, hee must now bee put, and held in possession of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of releevements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein hee had the more to doe, being to deale with a State consisting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) having a head whereunto it might readily gather. Which made, that unlesse he would lay more to their hopes than another, hee could not hope to have them firmly his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the *Normans*, was by money, and the *English*, with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestow on the one, & to promise the other, more than befitted his estate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great givers must alwayes give

give) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred than otherwise he could ever have had, being forced to all dishonorable shifts for rayning monyes that could be devised, and even to resume his owne former grants.

And to begin at first to take the course to be ever needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to *Winchester*, where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that; which, with great providence was there amassed: whereby, though hee wonne the love of many, hee lost more, being not able to cony, he had to give hopes; and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others, who were mainly for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortunes upon their first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the Father & the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same, engages the Country of *Constantine*, and leaves an army for *England*. But *William* newly invested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better settled him in his government than to raise spirits that could not easily be allayed. And an agreement betwene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand markes *Per annum*.

Robert having closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantine*, out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes, for which he had engaged it. Whereupon King *William* upbraids *Henry* (with the great gaine he had made by his usury) in lending mony to deprive him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and having no place safe from their danger where to live; surprized the Castle of Mount *Saint Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his mony was served with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyles in the Countreies of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odon, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earldome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so far under what he had beene, and *Laufanc* his concurrent, now the only man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as he found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in divers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces: as first *Geffery* Bishop of *Constant*, with his Nephew *Robert de Moubray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselves in *Brisfow*, and take in all the Country about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Huge de Grandemoull* about *Lycester*: *Roger de Montgomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* all *Normans*, and assaile the City of *Worcester*, making themselves strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rochefer*, makes good all the Coasts of *Kent*, solicits *Robert* to use what speede he could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*, which had he done in time, and not given his brother so large opportunity of prevention, he had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme him Friends, under worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which hee did by granting relaxation of their former freedome of hunting in all his woods and Forrests; a thing they much esteemed; whereby he made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egged to revenge them

William the second resumes his owne Grants.

Robert of *Normandy* borrowes summes of his brother *Henry* to purchase the kingdome of *England*.

Odon for malice to *Laufanc*, seeks to distract the Kings forces.

The King underworkes his enemies, by releeving the dolcians, and granting former freedomes to the *English*.

them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beate their Conquerors, having the faire advantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

Mongomery, being won from his complices, and the severall conspirators in other parts, repress, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to caule those which defended that of *Rocheſter*, which were *Eustace Earle of Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiving him, derained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King upon a false intelligence given of the arrivall of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and to retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abjure *England*.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for ever after. Where first he obtains *Saint Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Countrey of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abbatie* of mount *Saint Michel*, *Cherbourg*, and other places. *Robert* seekes aide of *Phillip King of France*, who comes downe with an army, into *Normandy*; but overcome with the power of money wherewith King *William* assailed him, did him little good, and so retired.

Whereupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driven to a dishonourable peace, concluded at *Cuen*, with these Articles. First, that King *William* should hold the Countrey of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, and all other places which he had bought, and were delivered unto him by *William Earle of Eu*, and *Steven Earle of Aumal*, sisters sonne to *William the first*. Secondly, he should aide the Duke to recover all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were usurped from the *Dutchy*. Thirdly, that such Normans, as had lost their estates in *England*, by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereto. Fourthly, that the survivor of either of them should succede in the Dominions both of *England* & *Normandy*. After this peace made by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his ayde against their brother *Henry*, who still kept him in the Fort of *Michel*, upon his guard, holding it best for his safety. For being a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was every way in danger to be cruſht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should have tooke to either (their turne being served) his owne might be in hazard: and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layd siege to this Castle; and one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horses, whereof three ran at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces, as they brake pectorall, girles, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaves the King, and the Saddle on the ground: the King takes up the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to save his saddle, answered: *It would have angered him, the Bretons should have bragged, they had wonne the saddle from under him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiours to force any thing from him.*

In the end *Henry* grew to extreme want of drinke and water, although he had all other provision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might have his necessity supplied. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine,

Duke Robert driven to peace.

1089
Anno
Reg. 3.
1091.
Anno
Reg. 4.

The Kings undaunted valor.

The King and his two brethren agreed.

wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Where with *William* being displeased, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craved it; and that if he perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewise relenting, they sent for *Henry*, and agreement is made: That he should hold in mortgage the Countrey of *Constantine* till the money was payd, and a day appointed to receive it at *Rouen*.

Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possessed himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his *Dutchy*: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of *Normandy*, *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand, upon all occasions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne prevailed not? And besides, hee wrought so, as cyther through promise of money, or some farther ratification to be made here, he brought his brother *Robert* with him over into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition against *Malcolm*, who had incroched upon his territories, during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, *Robert*, soone after returns much discontented into *Normandy*, and as it seemes, without money to satisfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouen* at a day appointed, instead of receiving it, was committed to prison, and before he could be released, forced to renounce the Countrey of *Constantine*, and sware never to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

Henry complains of this grosse injustice, to *Philip King of France*, who gave him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Huchard*, undertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the *Dutchy*, conveyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle *Dampſfont* was delivered unto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Countrey of *Pushys*, about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, by the secret ayde of King *William*, *Richard de Rivieres*, and *Roger de Manneville*.

Duke *Robert* levies Forces, and eagerly wrought to recover *Dampſfont*, but finding how *Henry* was underſet, inveighs against the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more than ever. And over passes King *William* with a great army, but rather to terrifie, than to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend than war: and would be great with the sword, yet seldomie desired to use it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace than win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: where in to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to be wrought, and makes the more shew of Force; sending over into *England* for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to be shipped: an offer was to be proclaimed by his Lievtenant, that giving ten shillings a man, who so ever would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and served to see the King of *France*, under-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke *Robert*, who seeing himselfe left by the *French*, must needs make his peace as the other would have it.

Now for his affaires at home, the uncertaine warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gave him more businesse than honour. Being driven in the one to encounter with mountains in stead of men, to the great losse and disadvantage of his people; and in the other with as many necessities. *Wales* hee fought

1092.
Anno
Reg. 5.

Duke Robert commits his brother Henry to prison.

1093.
Anno
Reg. 6.

1048.
Anno
Reg. 7.The King of
Scott and his
sonne Edward
daine, causes
Queene Mar-
garet to dye
with griefe.
Roger Hovenden1085.
Anno
Reg. 7.

to subdue Scotland so to restrain, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings seeming more willing to have peace than to seeke it, are brought to an interview: *Malcolin* upon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Glocester*; where, upon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demands, and the unyeeldingnesse of King *Malcoline*, standing upon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the judgement of the primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdain, and rankor of *Malcoline*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of England. So that upon his returne armed with rage; hee raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before hee had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking utterly to destroy it, and to have gone farther, was with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by fraude than power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that Country: The griefe of whose death, gave *Margaret*, that blessed Queene hers. After whom, the State elected *Dafnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the English, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcoline*. King *William* to set the line right, and to have a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second sonne to *Malcolin* (who had served him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due unto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dafnald* was expeld, and the State received *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of England, and capitulated that he should never entertaine English or Norman in his service.

This businesse settled, *Wales* struggling for liberty, and revenge, gave new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Country: but they retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey* avoyded the present fury. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprizing the Isle (their chiefeft retreat) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by executions, and miserable dismembing the people; which inhumanity, was there suddenly avenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling overboard into the Sea, to the sport and scorn of his enemy the King of *Normay*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming upon that coast from taking in the Orcaides, encountered with him and that Force he had at Sea.

These were the remote businesses, when a conspiracie broake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou* and many other, which are sayd to have sought the destruction of the King, and the advancement of *Stephen* Earle of *Albemarle*, his Aunts sonne, to the Crowne; which gave the King more trouble than danger: For by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse (wherein hee used the best strength of England) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the undertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the same to an extreme rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to be numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windfor*, *William d'Ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury*, being overcome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his privy members cut off. *William de Alveric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and allyed unto him, was condemned to be hanged: though both in his confession to *Osmond* the Bishop there, and to all the people as he passed to his Execution, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the unrepayrable breaches abroad (were such) as could give the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, than the attempters would: and that all the Christian World was out, eyther at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church: Pope *Urban*, assembling a generall Councell at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to joyne themselves in Action, for the recovery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an active, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, upon unknowne Nations that undid them abroad.

Such, and so great grew the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of Heaven to all the pious undertakers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each gives hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leaving all what the dearenesse of their Countrey contained, drew to this warre 300000. men; all which, though in Armes, passed from divers Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, was the first that offered up himselfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, *Eustace* and *Baudouin*; by whose examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count de *Vermondois*, brother to *Philip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders*; *Stephen* Earle of *Blpis* and *Charters*; *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*; *William* Bishop of *Orange*; *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Rethel*; and *Garmier* Earle of *Greiz*; *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*; *Ysard* Earle of *Die*; *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*; *Guillaum* Count de *Forrests*; *Stephen* Count d' *Aumaul*; *Hugh* Earle of *S. Pol*; *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany* and the Countries adjoyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe* with others, whose names are lost: *Spaine* onely had none; being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

Most of all these Princes and great Personages, to furnish themselves for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Leige*; and *Metz* to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of *Sarteny*, and *Monfa*, to *Richard* Bishop of *Verdun*; and to the same Bishop, *Baudouin* his brother sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his livelyhood to the Church: *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*; and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakned the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long and bloody businesse, about the investitures of Bishops; tooke away and infeeblid his partisans, abated, as if by *ostracisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him; but also advanced the State Ecclesiasticall, by purchasing these great Temporalities, (more honorable for the sellers than the buyers) unto a greater meanes than ever. For by advising the undertakers, seeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make over their

Peter the Her-
mits gets
300000. men
to recover the
Holy Land;

1097.
Anno
Reg. 10

their estates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to have the fairest dealing, than unto Lay-men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in *France* came to be posselt by the Clergy; and afterwards upon the same occasion, many things more unto them in *England*, especially when *Richard* the first undertooke the voyage, who passed over divers Mannors to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* (and also, for his mony) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appears in his life.

An Emperour of Germany, two Kings of France with their wives, a King of Norway went all thither in person.

This humour was kept up, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragement, by the difficulties passing, the disasters there through the contagion arising from a disagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest men of all our West world, and especially *France*. For *Germany* and *Italy*, those who were the Popes friends, and would have gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him, but in the end, by this meanes the Pope prevailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in *Asia*, brought one thence: to the danger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heats and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of severall Nations, emulous and unconsentient in their courses) taught such as were of an entire body, their weakenesses, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

And by this meanes King *William* here was now rid of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of *Normandy* during his reigne and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in *England*. Where now, in making up this great summe to pay *Robert*, he used all the extreame meanes could be devised: As he had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergy, being the first King which shewed his successors an evil precedent of keeping their Livings vacant, and receiving the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of *Canterbury*, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at *Glocester*, the sixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergy, in the weakenesse of his body, tooke to worke upon his minde, so as he vowed, upon his recovery to see all vacancies furnished; which hee did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that having escaped the danger hee would willingly have deceived the Saint: And *Anselme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what both with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, hee never enjoyed it quietly under him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the investitures of Bishops, and other privileges of the Church, which gave much to doe, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will forooke the Land, whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester*, *Salisbury*, and eleven Abbeyes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

He usually sold all spirituall preferments to those would give most, and tooke fines of Priests for Fornication: he vexed *Robert* Bluet Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till he payd him 5000. pound. And now the Clergy, upon this taxe, complaying their wants, were answered, That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them. He also tooke money of Jewes, to cause such of them as were converted

The Kings shew of Religion.

1099
Anno
Reg. 12

converted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their unbeleeffe, than by their conversion. Wherein hee discovered the worst peece of his nature, Irreligion.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layety, hee sets informers upon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raising moneyes, wherein he sayled not off fit ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops, to counterpoise the Clergy, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle upon *Tine*, the City of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice hee appeased the King of *France* with mony, and his Profusion was such, as put him evermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the City of *Mans* was surpris'd by *Hely* Conte de la *Fleische*, who by his wife pretended right thereunto; and was ayded by *Fouques d'Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*; and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendred. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wills him to make all the speeche he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And suddainly he asks of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some advised him to stay for fit provisions, and people for his journey, he sayd; *They who love me, will follow me*. And coming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Mariners told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, sayd he, *set forward, I never yet heard of King that was drowned*.

By beake of day he arrived at *Harflew*, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither he came at the day appointed. Conte de la *Fleische*, having more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouan*; where more enraged, than dismayde with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had he not beene taken with a wile, he would have left the King but little Land on that side the Sea; and were he againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, *Set him at libertie, gave him a faire Horse, bade him goe his way, and doe his worst*. Which act overcame the Conte more than his taking, and a quiet end was made between them. That he affected things of cost, even in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his servant, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry hee asked his servant, if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a Marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to have cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceit of the servant.

The King returns into *England* with great jollity, as ever bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, than from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall lately finished at West.

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Ranulph* gave a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellor. Profusion ever in want.

Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, than a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added unto it. And in this gayetrie of State which hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace: and being hunting with his brother Henry in the New Forest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is uncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when hee had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the grave Councell of *Laufranc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had he not after sought to be absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

The end of the Life and Reigne of William the second.

The Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

1100.
Anno
Reg. 1.

HENRY the youngest sonne of William the first, being at hand, and borne in England (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being given out, that Robert, who should have succeeded William, was chosen King of Jerusalem, and not like to give over that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle Henry in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was used, lest the report of Roberts returning from the Holy Warres (being now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noyed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of Henry. The first actions of his government tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subjection (as his predecessor) upon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and advisednesse: This being a Prince better rectified in judgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, having sighed with other men under the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by having somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclerke*.

First, to fasten the Clergy, He furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his brother had kept empty, recalls *Anselme* home to his Bishopricke of Canterbury, and restores them to all whatsoever priviledges had beene infringed by his Predecessour. And for the Layety, He not onely pleased them in their relievements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions, which evermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the evils done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who have the active power, where themselves have but the passive onely, and commonly turne as they are mooved.

Ralph Bishop of Durham, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety of his tongue (from infamous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a straight and loathsome prison, being fained to have put his maister into all these courses of exaction and irregularities, and remains amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Coverseu* Bell were forbidden them upon great penalty, since the beginning of William the first. Many other good orders for the government of the Kingdome are ordayned, and besides

The ministers
of exactions
punished.

Ralph Bishop
of Durham
committed to
prison.
Dissolute per-
sons expelled
the Court.

besides to make him the more popular and beloved, hee matches in the Royall blood of England, taking to wife *Maud*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of Scots, and Necce to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyster, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of England, when his brother Robert returning from the Holy Warres, and received with great applause into his Dutchy of Normandy, shooke the ground of all this businesse; the first yeare threatening, the second, arriving with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recover the Crowne; appertaining to him by the course of succession, having a mighty party in England of the Norman Nobility; who eyther mooved with Conscience of their discontent (a sicknesse rising of selfe opinion, and over expectation) made any light occasion the motive of revolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are ready to encounter, when, for avoyding Christian blood, a treaty of peace was mooved, and in the end concluded with these Articles: 1. That seeing Henry was borne since his father was King of England, which made him the eldest sonne of a King, though the last of a Duke, and now invested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he should enjoy the same during his life, paying to Robert three thousand markes per annum. 2. And Robert surviving, to succeed him. 3. That all, who had taken part with Robert should have their pardons, and receive no detriment.

This businesse thus fairely passed over, Robert of a Generous and Free Nature staves and Feasts with his brother here in England, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas, and then returnes into Normandy. When Henry, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher straine of Regality, and now stands upon his Prerogative, for the investitures of Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesse: in so much as the King dispatches an Ambassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right he had to such investitures, from his Predecessours the Kings of England, who evermore conferred the same without interruption, till now of late.

Anselme followes after these Ambassadors, goe likewise to Rome, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands stily to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constrayned (and having much to doe at that time with the Emperour and other Princes, about the same businesse) takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, solliciting him with kind letters, full of protestations, to further any designes of his that might concerne his State if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and having purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might bee the better effected; consents to satisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. *Anselme* is recalled; after a yeares banishment, and the Ambassadors returne with large remunerations.

Whilst these things were managing at Rome, there burst out here a flame, which

Robert Duke
of Normandy
returnes from
the Holy
Warre.

1101.
Anno
Reg. 8.

The agree-
ment between
Henry and his
brother.

1102.
Anno
Reg. 3.

Henry claims
the investi-
tures of Bi-
shops.
Anselme op-
pugnes the
Kings prero-
gative.
The King
sends to the
Pope.

1103.
Anno
Reg. 4.
Anselme fol-
lowes.

The King
and *Anselme*
accorded.

The Earle of
Shrewsburies
combination

1104.
Anno
Reg. 5.

1105.
Anno
Reg. 6.

which consumed the parties that raised it, & brought the King more easily to his ends, than otherwise he ever could have expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, son to *Roger de Montgomery* (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his Friends, fortifies his Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundell*; with some other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the *Welch*, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether uncertaine:) which put the King to much travell and charge; but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, he scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred upon condition, that the Maister might be permitted to retire safe into *Normandy*; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and Wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby advanaging the Kings revenues, hee goes to lose *Normandy* also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as hee came thither, hee fastens amity with one of like condition and Fortunes as himselfe (an exiled man;) whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in *England*; and much wasted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, sonne to *Robert*, halfe brother to King *William* the first. Who being also Earle of *Cornwall*, made sure likewise, to have that of *Kent*: which his Vnkle *Odon* lately held: but being denied it, and also evicted by Law, of certaine other partels of Land, which he claimed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not onely he assaults the Kings Castles, but also usurpes upon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Chester*, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselves, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complained to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, hee being now growne poore by his out-lavishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or else false from action, and those greatnesse his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht with ill Fortunes are) false likewise in spirit, and given over to his ease. Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who sends for his brother *Robert*, Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; advises him to act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke: and in conclusion, whether by detention of his Pension, or drawing him, being of a facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee joynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he rayed all his utmost forces to be revenged on his brother.

The King, touched in Conscience with the foulness of a fraternal Warre (which the world would take, hee being the mightier, to proceede out of his designs) stood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Pascall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (saith *Malmesbury*) wherein he was very quicke, perswaded him; That heerein hee should not make a civill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefit unto his Countrey: Whereby (payd for remitting the Investitures) he held himselfe countenanced in this businesse; whercon, now he sets with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of

divers

divers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Castle of *Tenechbray*, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein forty yeares before) *Normandy* overcame *England*, such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

And here *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to be deprived of his Dutchy and all he had, brought prisoner into *England*; and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life (surviving after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, having his eyes put out; whereby he was onely left to his thoughts; a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

He was a Prince that gave out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein he had the second command, and was in election to have bene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Jerusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne over him, and the animation of others, rather than his owne Nature) sets a staine upon him: and then, his profusion (which some would have liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that overthrew him. All the Revenues of his Dutchy, which should serve for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was upon passing the City of *Rouen* unto the Cittizens, which made him held unfit for the government, and gave occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland* by his Match, and doing their Princes good, he held from doing him hurt: clearing them from usurpations. *Wales*, though under his Title, yet not subjection, gave him some exercise of action; Which he ordered with great wisdom. First he planted within the body of that Country, a Colony of *Flemings*, who at that time much pestred this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King *William* the first, marrying their Countreie woman, and using their helpe in the action of *England*; where they daily encreased, in such sort, as gave great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grievance was eased, and the use of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and held it in that sort, as they kept the *Welch*, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe mens sons of the Country, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip* the first lived: who, wholly given over to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his son he was to looke unto, whensoever hee came to that Crowne.

With the Earle of *Flanders* he had some debate, but it was onely in words; and upon this occasion. King *William* the first, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldouin* the first had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gave him yearly three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning emptie from the Holy Warres, and finding this summe paid out of *England* to his Predecessors, demaunds the same of King *Henry*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the

G 2

custome

England wins
Normandy.

Robert Duke
of Normandy
is imprisoned
by King Hen.

1106.
Anno
Reg. 7.

King Henry
Duke of Nor-
mandy.

1107.
Anno
Reg. 8.

custome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gave pensions, they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answer so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe lived not to shew his hatred, yet his Son did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recovery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

King Henry
quarrels with
the king of
France.

Thus rood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, he had more to doe abroad than at home, where he had by his excellent wisdom so settled the government, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Phillip* the first, gave him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes, taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, situate on the River *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* was troubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming upon their Franchises, within their owne Signiories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartins*, *Champaigne* and others, who by example, and emulation, would be absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselves under the protection of *Henry*; who being neere to assist them, fostered those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselves. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolved that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in work, the quarrell betwene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the first, having (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry* the fourth who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leaves sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*; and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betwene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into alliance with the King of *England*, takes to wife his daughter *Maude*, being but 5. yeares of age: after this, *Calixt* son of the Count de *Burgogne* comming to be Pope, and being French (unto their great applause) assembles a Councell at *Reims*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the first is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of *England*, seeing this Councell was held in *France*, and composed chiefly of the *Galllicane* Church, desirous to over-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set upon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assaile him on the other. The Emperour easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously upon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischief of a Warre undertaken in a heate; with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, advise the Emperour not to enter there-into, till hee had signified to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answers, That he grieved much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissensions, whereby might be feared, the whole

frame

frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly be an inter-dealer for concord, rather than to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish, for the good and quiet of *Christendome*. This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to have *Louys* a mediator of the accord betwene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to have risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes advantage, to whom the Emperour yeelds up the right of investitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

The King of *England* disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceeds notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces, he sets up a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald* Conte de *Champaigne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, he obtained a strong side in that Kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Anjou* (an important neighbour; and ever an enemy to *Normandy*) to be his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

Louys on the other side, sayles not to practise all meanes to under-work *Henry*es estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William* Earle of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance; and had the sayrer shew of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

Great and many were the conflicts of these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, being both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anjou*. And *William* sonne to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*; And *William* the son of *Robert Curtoys* his left to himselfe, and desists from his claime.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with the sowrenesse of griefe, as over-came all the joy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seventene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary* Countesse of *Perch*, their sister; *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Mariners, setting out from *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at Sea, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recovered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to have bin saved, had not the compass of his sisters cries drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Which sudden clap of Gods judgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past over, might make a conscience shrink with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repayed with the extinction of that, for which so much had bene wrought; and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as it to begin the tale, layd on all the future successe hitherunto; wherein the third Heire in a right descent, seldom or never enjoyed the Crowne of *England*, but that other by usurpation or extinction of the male blood, it received an alteration;) which may teach Princes to observe the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights; and God with his providence, to blow down the proud.

After this heavy disafter, this King is sayd never to have bin seene to laugh, though within 5. months after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adela*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Aquaine*, of the house of

G 3

Lorraine,

The King of
France ac-
cords the
Pope and
Emperour.

King Henry
aydes Conte
Theobald a-
gainst the
King of
France:

The King of
France com-
bines with the
Earle of *Flan-
ders*, against
King Henry.

1116.
Anno
Reg. 17

Queene Maude
had not to
see this disa-
ster.

1108.
Anno
Reg. 6.
The Popes
Oath to the
Emperour.

The Emperour
Hen. 5. marries
Maude.

History of
France.

Robert de Mel-
lent's conspi-
racie.

1123.
Anno
Reg. 25

Maud the
Empresse
married to
Geffrey
Plantagenet.

1126.
Anno
Reg. 27

1133.
Anno
Reg. 34

His govern-
ment in peace.

The first use
of Progresses.

The begin-
ning of Par-
liaments.

Lorraine, but never had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in France. Nor-
mandy it selfe became wavering, and many adhered to William the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of France: Foulke Earle of Anion quarrels for his daughters Dowry: Robert de Melcent his chiefe Friend and Councillor, a man of great employment, fell from him, conspired with Hugh Earle of Monfort, and wrought him great trouble.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and Anion, death: which being so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of England there, the King fastens upon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of Lombardy and Lorraine) to the now Earle Geffrey Plantagenet, the sonne of Foulke.

The King of France to Fortifie his opposition, entertaines William the Nephew, where now all the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of Flanders, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle Baldwin, slaine in a battell in France against King Henry. But William as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was deprived, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of Robert Curoys perished.

And now the whole care of King Henry, was the settling of the succession upon Maude (of whom he lived to see two sonnes borne) for which he convokes a Parliament in England, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to be true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritors of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by David, King of Scots, Vickle to Maude, and by Stephen, Earle of Bollogne and Mortaine, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in England, and advanced his brother to the Bishopricke of Winchester. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at Northampton in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are sayd to have beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein he would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed, all was not well within.

His government in peace, was such as ranks him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest make: holding the Kingdome so well ordered as during all his reigne, which was long, he had ever the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after the care to establish his succession, held him in, to observe all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; having an especiall regard to the due administration of Justice, that no corruption or oppression might disaffect his people, whereby things were carried with an evennesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gave all satisfaction. He made divers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoever he was in England, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festivals in severall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed ulcers of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serve his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which he first convoked at Salisbury,

Anno

Anno Reg. 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of Normandy, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glory, and security of their posterity.

He was a Prince that lived formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subjects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braveries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the undecencie thereof, he reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and warinesse of expence; and his warres being selfe-dome invasive, and so not getting, put him often to use hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, he obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at Salisbury) Anno Reg. 15. three shillings upon every hide-land, but he had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in France. He kept Bishopricks and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of Canterbury, five yeares together. By an Act of Parliament at London, Anno Reg. 30. he had permission to punish Marriage, and incontineny of Priests, whom (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enjoy their wives: but heereby he displeased the Clergy, and disappointed that reformation.

Punishments which were Mutilation of member, he made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long being in Normandie, those provisions for his house, which were used to be paid in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and received in mony, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subject, who by reason that many dwelling fare off throughout all Shires of England, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. Hee resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests, which tooke up much faire ground of the Kingdome, and besides renewing for penalties, made an Edict, That if any man in his owne private woods, killed the Kings Deere, he should forfeit his woods to the King. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which under him seemes to have had their Originall, by the example of that of his at Woodstocke, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a disaffect in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his Warres, and his many and great Fortifications in Normandy. His buildings were the Abbey of Reading, the Mannor of Woodstocke, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seven miles about.

The most eminent men of his Councill were, Roger Bishop of Sarum, and the Earle of Melent, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World: Roger was ever as Vice-Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three and foure yeares together. He had managed the Kings mony and other affayres of his house, when hee was a poore Prince, and a private man; whereby hee gayned an especiall trust with him ever after, and discharged his part with great policy and understanding; had the title of Justiciar, and was in the... Of whose stone, than of any one Man, Prince, or other of his Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his stately structures, especially that of the Devises in Wallis, shewes us the carkasse of a most Roman-like Fabricke. Besides, he built the Castles of Mainsbury and Shirkburne, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repayed the Castle of Salisbury, and all these he lived to see rent from him, and sealed into the next Kings hands, as being things done out of his

He assembles
the first Par-
liament after
the Conquest.

His reforma-
tion.

His meanes
to raise mo-
nies.

Tilburien's de
Seacraio.

His expences.

His Counsell-
lours.

The magnifi-
cent buildings
of Roger bi-
shop of Sa-
rum.

Robert Melent
an especiall
Counsellor to
Hen. 1.

The example
of frugality in
great men
doth much
good in a
Kingdome.

King Henries
death.
His personage

His issue.

his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, he walled old Salisbury, and repayred the Church there.

Robert Earle of Melent, was son of Roger Beaumont; who of all the great men which followed William the first in his civill Wars of Normandy, refused to attend him in his expedition for England, though with large promises invited thereunto, saying, *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his sonne Robert was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in England and Normandy. Was a man of great direction in Counsell, and ever used in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparrell and dyer, was of such example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end he fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

Besides these, this King was served with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designes of his in France, for the preservation of his State in Normandy. Whither in the 32. yeare of his reigne, he makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after, in the thirty five yeare of his reigne.

He was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more solide constitution, with better ordered affections. He had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, not to over-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subjects into the fashion of the booke, and divers learned men flourished in his time.

He had by Maude his wife the daughter of Malcoline the third, King of Scotland, none other children but Maude and William, of whom any certaine mention is made: but he is sayd to have had of children illegitimate seven sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes us his incontinency: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, Robert and Raynold were Earles, the one of Glocester (a great Champion and defender of his sister Maude the Emperesse) the other Earle of Cornwall, and Baron of Castle-combe. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of England and France, from whom descended many worthy Families, as divers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135.
Anno.
Reg. 1.

Reasons why
Maude was
not crowned.



HE Line Masculine of the Norman extinct, and onely a daughter left, (& she married to a French man, Stephen Earle of Blois, and of Adela daughter to William the first) was (notwithstanding the former oath taken for Maude) elected by the State and invested in the Crowne of England, within thirty dayes after the death of Henry. Upon what reasons of Counsell, we must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time. Some imagine, *The States refused Maude, for not being then the custome of any Kingdome Christian (whose Kings are anointed) to admit women to inherit the Crowne;* and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath,

as being unlawfull. But Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the principall men then in Counsell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was, *That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was Stephen, having no title at all, but as one of the blood, by mere election, advanced to the Crowne. For if he could claime any right in the Succession, as being the sonne of Adela, then must Theobald, Earle of Blois, his (if they refused the Mother) was nearer in blood to the right Steim, than either. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. Stephen was a man, and of great possessions, both in England and France, had one brother Earle of Blois, a Prince of great estate; another, Bishop of Winchester (the Popes Legat in England, of power eminent) was popular for his affabilitie, goodly personage, and activensse: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Bishop of Winchester, induced to make choyce of him) having an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them; and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) than under such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a private oath before the Bishop of Canterbury, to confirme the ancient liberties of the Church, and had his brother to undertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

But being now in the possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vnckle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite silver, besides Plate, and Jewels, of inestimable value. After the Funeralls performed at Reading, he assembles a Parliament at Oxford, wherein, He restored to the Clergy, all their former liberties, and freed them lastly from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoever grievances oppressed the, confirming the same by his Charter, which saythfully to observe, he took a publique oath before all the assembly: Where likewise the Bishops swore fealty unto him, but with this condition; *So long as he observed the Tenour of this Charter.*

And how as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, & his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to have come upon him. And first graunts licence, to all that would, to build Castles upon their owne Lands, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any over-running invasion, that should master the field: Which in seiled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by Friends, he makes all he could: Creates new Lords, gives to many great Possessions, and having a full purse spares for no cost to buy love and fidelitie: A purchase very uncertaine when there may be other conveyances made of more strength to carry it.

Two wayes he wasto looke for blowes: From Scotland on one side, and France on the other: Scotland wanted no instigations: David their King mooved both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head upon him: Stephen was presently there, with the shew of a strong Armie, and appeased him with the restitution of Cumberland, and his sonne Henry Prince of Scotland, (as Scottish Writers say) was to descend unto him by the right of his Mother Maude, who was daughter to Waltheof Earle of Huntingdon, and of Mathith, Neece to William the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and

Reasons why
Stephen Earle
of Bullogne
was crowned
King.

King Stephen
possesses the
Treasure of
Henry. I.
His first Par-
liament at
Oxford.

and was the sonne of Syward Earle of Northumberland: And for this the Prince of Scotland, tooke his Oath of fealty to King Stephen which the father refused to doe, as having first sworn to Maude the Emperesse. Though otherwise he might be indifferent, in respect that Stephen had married likewise his Neece, which was Maude daughter to the Earle of Hologne, and of Mary sister to this King David, who by this meane was Vnckle both to Maude the Queene, and Maude the Emperesse.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertained him sometimes: After which, he falls dangerously sicke, in so much as he was noysed to be dead, by which sicknesse, he lost more than his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them up: it wakened Aniou, and sets him onto surprize certaine peeces in Normandy, to prepare for the recoverie of his Wives right, and made all this Kingdome waver: Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eightene would prove, wherein we are to have no other representations, But of revolts, beseeching of Castles, surprizings, recoverings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destructions in briebe, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition; and therefore herein we may the better forbear the rehearsal of many particulars, being all under one head of action, and like Nature.

1137.
Anno
Reg. 2.

Robert Earle
of Gloucester
follows to Hen-
ry the first.

The King, having recovered, would make the world know he was alive, and presently passes with Forces into Normandy, overcame the Earle of Aniou in battaile: after makes peace with him, and upon renouncing of the claime of Maude, covenants to give him 5000. markes per annum: he entertaines amity with King Louys the seventh, and causes his sonne Eustace to doe him homage for the Duchy of Normandy, wherein he was invested: besides, to content his elder brother Theobald, Earle of Blois, he gives him a pension of 2000. markes, and so returns againe into England, to a Warre against Scotland, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst he was held busie in worke, Robert Earle of Gloucester, base sonne to Henry the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part in these times, for his sister Maude) had surprized the Castle of Bristow, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in divers parts: as William Talbot the Castle of Hereford; Paynel the Castle of Ludlow: Lovell that of Cary; Moone the Castle of Dunster: Robert de Nichol that of Warham, Eustace Fitz Iohn that of Walton, and William Fitz Allan the Castle of Shrewsbury.

King Stephen
represents the
Conspirators.

He defeated
the Scots.

Stephen leaves the prosecution of the Scottish Wars to Thurstan Archbishop of Yorke, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many Valiant Leaders, as Walter Earle of Albemary, William Peverell of Nottingham; Walter and Gilbert Lacies: Himselfe bravely attended, bends all his power to repress the Conspirators, which he did in one expedition; recovers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and drave the Earle of Gloucester home to his sister into Aniou.

No lesse successes had his forces in the North, against the Scots, whom in a great battaile they discomfited and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought forth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell upon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse. He calls a Councell at Oxford, where occasion was given to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State.

The

1138.
Anno
Reg. 3.

1140.
Anno
Reg. 5.

The King
seizes upon
the Bishops
Castles and
Treasure.

The Popes
Legat a Bi-
shop takes
part with Bi-
shops against
the King his
brother
Malmesbury.

The Bishops upon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in Magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of Salisbury, that their greatnesse was much maligned by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of Salisbury, the Vies, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, and Newarke, were onely to entertaine the party of Maude: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, lends for the Bishop of Salisbury (most suspected) to Oxford. The Bishop, as if fore-seeing the mischief comming to him, would gladly have put off his journey, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serve his turne: thither he comes, where his servants, about the taking up of Lodgings, quarrell with the servants of the Earle of Brittain, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously Wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his servants: The satisfaction required, was the yeelding up of his keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty; but that being stood upon, the Bishop with his Nephew, Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, were restrayed of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the Devises, whither (the Bishop of Eley, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of Salisbury, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, and after three dayes assault, the Devises was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gave much occasion of rumour; some sayd: The King had done well in seizing upon these Castles; it being unfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be prejudiciall to the King. Against this was the Bishop of Winchester, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, than that of a brother: saying: That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King but the Canons, that must judge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Justice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had bene built upon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion. And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might be examined, he appoints a Councell to be called at Winchester, whither the King is summoned: And thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope Innocent to the Bishop of Winchester, who there openly urged the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: An act most heinous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of evil ministers, would thus lay hands upon such men, spoyle them of their estates: which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions, he had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the love of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his living, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.

The King, standing upon this cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why he was called thither: Answer was made by the Legat: That the King, who was subject to the faith of CHRIST, ought not to take it ill, if by the Ministers of CHRIST, he was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions, and there-fore

fore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neyther the Roman Church, the Court of the King of France, nor the Earle Theobald, brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe advisedly to render the reason of his Act, and undergoe a Canonick judgement: that he ought in duty to favour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, he was advanced to the Crowne without any military hand.

The Kings
Reply.

With which answer the Earles departed, attended with Alberic de Vcr, a man exercised in the Law; and having related the same, they returned with the Kings reply: which Alberic utters, and urges the injuries Bishop Roger had done to the King: how he seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offered violence to the nephew and servants of the Earle of Brittain, and to the servants of Herui de Lyons, a man of that Nobility and stoutnesse, as would never vouchsafe to come upon any request to the late King, and yet for the love of this, was desirous to see England: where, to have this violence offered, was an injury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of Lincolne, for the ancient hatred to the Earle of Brittain, was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtilly temporize, as the King had found by divers circumstances: especially when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of Bristow, he would not lodge him one night in Malmesbury: that it was in every mans mouth, as soone as the Empreffe came, he and his Nephews would render their Castles unto her: That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a servant to the King, and one that administered his procurations, and received his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to avoid the calumnie of their tumults rayed in his Court: If the King found some money in his Castles, he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger had collected it out of the revenues of the King his Uncle & predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeelded up the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the covenants made betweene him and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Bishop Roger opposes: That he was never servant to the King, nor received his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not justice for his wrongs in that Councell, he would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, sayd: That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to bee examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should have beene given against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in judicall trials) revealt the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.

After much debate, the Kings cause was (upon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-Bishop of Roan, an especiall instrument for the King, might be there; who delivering his opinion said: That if the Bishops could rightly prove by the Canons, they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to strive to doe otherwise. And be it (sayd he) their right to have them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliver the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to have Castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliver the Keyes.

The

The Lawyer Elberic addes; That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatned, and had furnished some to goe to Rome against him. But, sayd he, the King would have you know, that none of you presume to doe it: for if any goe out of England, contrary to his will, and the dignity of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning. In Conclusion the Councell brake up, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes privy; and besides, they saw the swords too busie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-Bishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings seete in his Chamber) besought him, that he would pity the Church, pity his owne soule and his fame; not to suffer dissention to be, betweene the Kingdome and the Priest-hood. The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

Shortly after, through griefe, dyed the Bishop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of over-eminent and greedy Officers) unpitied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and insatiable desire of having. For whom the present King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treasurer, and upon his suite, gave to himselfe the Borough of Malmesbury; in somuch as the King would say to his Familiars about him: If this man will begge thus still, I will give him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall he be weary of craving, ere I of granting. And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to Maude, whose part he began to favour onely, out of the hatred he bare to Winchester; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by his ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather than to loose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) utterly dissolved him. For presently hereupon all his power fell asunder: The Empreffe found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of Gloucester presuming of a sure side, conducted her into England onely with 150. men: put her into the Castle of Arundell, and himselfe (attended but with twelve horse) passed away cleare through all the Country to Bristow: and from thence to Gloucester, where he had leisure without opposition, to raise all the Country to take part with the Empreffe; who, from Arundell Castle, was afterward (by the Legat himselfe, and the Kings permission) conveyed to Bristow: received with all obedience, grew daily in strength as shee went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in Hertford, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and seiled those parts) to gather up more of the Kingdome, by shewing herselfe and her power in divers places.

Stephen, having no part cleare (by reason the Castles, upon which he spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that speede to stop this streame, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leave dangers behind, that might over-take him. And first he layes siege to the Castle of Wallingford, which Brian son to the Earle of Gloucester, held against him: then to the Castle of Bristow and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new received Princeesse, he causes a treaty of peace to be propounded at Bathe, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, were appointed Commissioners for the King; and the Earle of Gloucester for the Empreffe; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Empreffe seekes to recover more, the King what he had lost: and left the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, he repaires thitherward: And finding the

The Legate
and Arch-Bi-
shops submis-
sion.

Maude the
Empresse con-
ducted into
England.

H

the

the Castle of *Lincolne* posselt by *Ralph Earle of Chester*, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*, and holding it not safe to be in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Chester*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood upon his defence; but being over-layd by power, conveyes himselfe out of the Castle, leaves his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of *Glocester*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of *Glocester* with an Army of *Welchmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, joynes with the Earle of *Chester*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* wastaken, carried prisoner to *Glocester*, presented to the Emperesse, and by her sent to be kept in the Castle of *Bristow*, but in all Honorable fashion, till his attempt to escape layd fetters on him.

Hereupon the Emperesse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat to be admitted to the Kingdome, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for soveraigne in the succession; and wrought so, as a Pattle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaine neere to *Winchester*, where in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met; and the Emperesse swore, and made affidavit to the Legat, that all the great busineses, and especially the donation of Bishopricks and Abbeyes, should be at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would receive her as Queene of England, and hold perpetuall fidelity unto her. The same oath and affidavit tooke likewise her brother *Robert Earle of Glocester*, *Brian his sonne*, *Marques of Wallingford*, *Miles of Glocester* (after Earle of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishopricke to accept her as Queene (though she never came to bee so) and with some few others, made likewise affidavit for his part, that so long as she infringed not her covenant, he would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, there was received with forme procession into the Bishops Church at *Winchester*, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Barnard Bishop of Saint Davids* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander Bishop of Lincolne*, and *Nigel Bishop of Eley* (the Nephewes of *Roger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert Bishop of Bath*, and *Robert Bishop of Worcester*, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after came *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury*, to the Emperesse, invited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty unto her, as holding it unworthy his person and place, without having conferred first with the King. And therefore he, with many Prelats, and some of the Laity (by permission obtained) went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brake up, the Emperesse keeps her Easter at *Oxford*, being her owne Towne. Shortly upon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to *Winchester*, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with every Bishop apart, and then with every Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publike speech, shewing how the cause (of their assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Countrey, in great danger of utter ruine. Repeats the flourishing reigne of his Uncle, the peace, wealth and honour of the Kingdome in his time; and how this renowned King, many yeares before his death, had received an oath both of England and Normandy, for the succession of his daughter *Maude* and her issue; but, saith he, after his decease, his daughter being then in Normandy, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to be taken for the peace of the Countrey, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surer between

God

Shee labours
the Legat for
the Crowne
of England.

The Legats
speech to the
Clergy, to
Crown the
Emperesse.

God and him, that he should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet how he hath behaved himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieves me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other mis-governments. And then, sayd he, every man knowes I ought to love my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his judgements on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I have called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moved in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after having invoked (as it is meete,) the Divine ayde, we elect for Queene of England the daughter of the peaceful, glorious, rich, & in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.

When all, who were present, eyther modestly gave their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: The Londoners, who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacy of England, we have by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, to morrow we will expect them.

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed how they were sent from the Commualty of London, not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captivity, and the same did all the Barons (received within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legat, and all the Clergy there present. The Legat answers them at large and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, That the Londoners who were held in that degree in England, ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the War, by whose Counsell the Church hath bene dishonoured, and who favoured the Londoners but for their owne gain.

Then stands there up a Chaplaine to Queene *Maude*, wife to *Stephen*, and delivers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then said aloud, That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reverend and religious persons the same should be publicly read, containing matter reprehensible. The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: That the Queene earnestly intreats all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him unto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subjects, held prisoner.

To this the Legat answers (as to the Londoners) and shortly after the Councell brake up, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of England willingly accepted of *Maude*, in whose busineses her brother *Robert* imployes all his diligence and best care, reforming Justice, restoring the Lawes of England, promising relievements, and whatsoever might be to win the people; the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, she being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome, all came suddenly dasht by her over-haughty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the Londoners, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inveigh against her; who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their City; whereof shee having notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vnckle *David*, King of *Scots*, who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) unto *Oxford*, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, upon her denying him a suite for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance

The Legat
leaves the
Emperesse.

Is intreated
with teares by
the Queene,
regnant.

The Earle of
Glocester taken
Prisoner.

1142.
Anno
Reg. 7.

King Stephens
complaint.

inheritance of his Earledome of Mortaigne in Normandy. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull over all opportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, *sets upon him with her teares, intreaty, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation: in so much as shee recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolve such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Earle of Glocester, seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, strives, by all meanes to hold up Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats dispositiō, which to keep sound, was all. He brings the Empreſſe to Winchester settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queen Maude and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empreſſe, so that in the end, the Earle of Glocester wrought meanes to have her conveyed from thence to the Vies, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both even againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality between them, shewed yet there was an evennes of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings delivery (who onely in that was to have the Precedence) but upon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Legat, undertooke to yeeld themselves Prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serve the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and delivered the same unto him, under their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in Prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might releive them. Which shewes the advantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to have his fetters though at liberty.

The Queene and Eustace, her son the Prince, upon the enlargement of Stephen, remaine pledges in the Castle of Bristow, till the Earle were released, which was done upon the Kings coming to Winchester. Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the party of Maude, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could moove him being fixt to his courses, and rather would he have beene content to remaine a perpetuall Prisoner, than that Stephen should have been released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calls a Councell at London, where the Popes letters, written unto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to use all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to set him at liberty.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his Subjects, to whom he had never denied Justice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him even to death. The Legat, with great eloquence, labors to excuse his own courses: Alledging, How he received not the Empreſſe by his will, but necessity: that presently upon the Kings overthrow, whilst the Lords either were fled, or stood in suspense attending the event, shee and her people came thundring to the Walls of Winchester: And that, what past sever hee had made with her, for the rights of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainly informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignity and life: But God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse, so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother delivered out of bands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their utmost power, to ayde the King.*

King, annointed by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Anjou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empreſſe, who openly charged the Legat, *That in respect of the faith he had given the Empreſſe, to passe no act there, prejudiciall to her honour: having sworne unto her never to ayde his brother with above twenty souldiers; that her comming into England, was upon his often Letters unto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* This, and much more sayd the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to be mooved at all, nor would stoop to reply.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselves, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keepe them a sunder. Their borders lay every where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be savers or to recover their itaks when they were lost, which makes them never give over) entertain the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and cost more labour than blood. Every one fought with Bucklers, and seldom came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone have ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these enlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empreſſe at the Vies with her Councell, resolves to send over her brother into Normandy, to sollicite her husband the Earle of Anjou, to come to ayde her with Forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence settles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the souldiers of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. Stephen seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not; and then layes siege to the Castle of Oxford; which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. Geffery Earle of Anjou, desirous rather to have Normandy (whereof, in this meane time, he had attayned the most part, and in possibility of the rest) than to adventure for England, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne Henry, being then but eleven yeares of age, that he might looke upon England, and be shewed to the people, to try if that would moove them to a consideration of his right: which proved of more effect than an Army.

The Earle of Glocester safely returning, makes towards Oxford to releve the Empreſſe, who had secretly conveyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne Gate, onely with foure persons, got over the Thames, passed on foote to Abington, and from thence conveyed to Wallingford, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but many failes, which made divers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the rising of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of Glocester, the chiefe pillar of the Empreſſe, within two yeares after his last comming out of Normandy died, and shortly after Miles Earle of Hereford, an especiall man of hers, which had utterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother she had a sonne grew up to be of more estimation with

The Earle of
Glocester gets
to Normandy.

The Earle
returnes with
the Empreſſes
eldest sonne
Henry.

1143.
Anno
Reg. 8.

The Earle of
Glocester dyes.

the Nobility, and shortly after of ablenesse to undergoe the travailes of Warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *David King of Scots* his great Vnckle, to whom his mother had given the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Torke*, lest he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his usuall manner, and *French-like*, after the first heate of his undertakings, which were quicke and brave, he quailles: nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to advance the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in love with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys* the seventh, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William Duke of Guien*, grew into such an odious conceit of her, upon the notice of her lascivious behaviour in those parts, as the first worke he doth upon his comming backe, he repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him, than to enjoy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (being now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recovered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertaining to the Duchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poitou*. Whereupon *Louys* enraged to see him enlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom he married to his sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recovery of *Normandy*, wherein he was first posselt. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaves the managemēt of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandy*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after he dyed, about 18. yeares of his age, borne never to be out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Feversham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other joy nor glory of a Crowne but what wee see. *Stephen* whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recovers what he could; and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to have beene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the midst of Winter, arrives in *England* with 3000. foote, and 140. horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Willingford*, hee layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in unto him. *Stephen* now resolved to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far over-went his enemy in number; but fouds and stormes, in an unseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to have a young Prince get the maistrty by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, upon these conditions.

1. That King *Stephen*, during his naturall life, should remaine King of *England*, and *Henry* enjoy the Dukedome of *Normandy*, as descended unto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of *England* as the adopted sonne of King *Stephen*.

2. That the partizans of either, should receive no damage, but enjoy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.

3. That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging

longing to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or usurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King *Henry*, should be restored unto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the sayd King reigned.

4. That all such Castles as had beene built by the permission of *Stephen*, and in his time (which were found to be 1117) should be demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reservation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enjoy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification and all businesse here settled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandy* and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that he would be sure to have it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* having attayned (that he never had) peace, which yet, it seemes, he enjoyed not a yeare after) uses all the best meanes he could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne up under the sword: And after his returne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Dover*, who desired conference with him, and having despatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey hee founded) at *Feversham*, with the unfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, we never saw but a glance of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to be a very worthy Prince for the Government. He kept his word with the State concerning the relievements of Tributes, and never had Subsidy that we finde.

But which is more remarkable, having his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, He never put any great man to death. Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, That here were more Abbeyes built in his Reigne, than in an hundred yeares before, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King *Stephen*.

The Life and Reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.



HAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home. or doubtfull, where he would set his seate: Whether carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other than the usuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which hee received at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth

A. 1154.
He reigned
18. yeares,
and ten
moneths.

1155.
Anno
Reg. 1.

twentieth day of December, Anno 1154. about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

And though he were a Prince Young, Active, powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming: Yet the necessity of his owne affayres, were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to observe at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the love and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Government: being sure to have the King of France perpetually awake, for all advantages (both in regard of the daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Provinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to over-match him) being thus invested in this powerfull Kingdome of England. Where, after having made a choyce of grave Counsellors, such as best understood the state thereof; he began at a Councell or Parliament held at Wallingford, with an Act (that both served his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) which was the expulsion of Strangers, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late wars that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of Flemings and Picards, whom King Stephen especially trusted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the English fidelity, and had made their Leader William d' Ipres, Earle of Kent, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Expulsion of Strangers.

Resumption of Crowne Lands.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subjects, (whose voluntary services, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, than if exacted) he looks to the State, and ordering of his revenues, reforms the Exchequer, and revokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bene alienated, or usurped. And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as Hugh de Mortimer for his Castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and Roger Fitz Miles, Earle of Hereford for the City and Lands of Gloucester: yet the King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of Skarborough, which William Earle of Albemarle held, and divers other Lands and Castles in Torkeshire, possessed by private men. Hugh Bigot resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from William Earle of Mortaine, and Warren, base sonne to King Stephen, the Castle of Pemsy, the City of Norwich: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe granted the same, in his agreement with Stephen; alledging, They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened. Onely he suffered him to enjoy such lands, as his Father, King Stephen held in England, in the time of Henry the first.

Then goes he Northward, and recovers the City of Carlisle, seizes all Cumberland into his hands; and aftertakes the Towne of New-Castle, with the Castle of Bamberge, and so resumed all Northumberland, which his Mother (the Empresse) had before granted to David King of Scots, her Vnckle (Grand-father to Malcolin, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to give away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, Malcolin should enjoy the Earledome of Huntingdon, which King Stephen had given to Henry Prince of Scotland, Father to Malcolin, as being a peece in the heart of England, whereof he could make no use, but at the Kings pleasure; and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those services belonging to that Earledome.

And the same course tooke he with the Alienations, and usurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Dutchy of Normandy, and forced

Theobald

Theobald Earle of Blois, to resigne into his hands, two Castles, and Petroch Earle of Perch, other two. These revocations, wherby so many were indamaged in their estates, and Grants, both of his Predecessors, and his owne utterly nullified, might seeme to be an act of great injustice, and in a new Government, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit; and but few (though great) interested, it passed as a worke universally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must be made up out of publicke taxations, which would turne to a generall grievance. But the resuming of the Earledome of Aniou out of his brother Geffryes hands, contrary to his oath, cannot but be held a straine beyond conscience and good nature. For his father Geffrey Plantagenet desirous to leave some estate to his second sonne Geffrey, ordayned by his Testament, That when Henry had recovered the Kingdome of England, the other should have the Countie of Aniou; and in the meane time, put Geffrey in possession of the Castles and Townes of Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, whereby hee might, both have maintenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion served. And lest his sonne Henry would not performe his will, he got certaine Bishops, and other Nobles to sweare, that they should not suffer his body to be interred, till Henry, who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry, rather than to suffer his fathers body to lye unburied, With great unwillingnes takes this oath. But after being invested in the Crowne of England, & Geffrey seazing upon the Earledome of Aniou, he passes over into France, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three townes he had in possession; alledging, It was no reason, a forced oath (upon such an occasion) should bind him to forgoe the inheritance of his birth-right, (being all the Patrimony, that was to descend unto him from his Father) and though he had recovered the Kingdome of England; that was not his fathers worke, but by another right. And although he held his brother deare unto him, yet having Children of his owne, he was to provide, that what was his, should descend to them. But yet was content, to allow his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds English, and two thousand pounds of Aniouin money yearly) for the maintenance of his estate; and obtained of Pope Adrian the fourth (an English man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

And now the first occasion, that put him hereinto action of Warre, was the Rebellion of the Welch, who according to their usuall manner, ever attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne Fortunes. Against whom he goes so prepared, as if he meant to goe through with his Worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert Curcy, eminent persons; and himselfe noyfed to be slaine; so much discouraged that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights, as Henry an Earle of Essex, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but soone, the King made it knowne, he was alive, discomfited his enemies, and brought them to seeke their peace with submission. The Earle of Essex was after accused, by Robert de Monfort for this misdeede, had the Combate, was overcome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of Reading, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, all his affaires were in prosperous course, his State increasing, his Queene fruitfull, and had borne him three sonnes in England, Henry, Richard and Geffrey: his eldest sonne William (to whom he had caused the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty)

The King resumes the Earledome of Aniou.

1156.
Anno
Reg. 2.

His first expedition into Wales.

The punishment of Cowardize.

1158.
Anno
Reg. 4.

fealty) dyed shortly after his comming to the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is rendred to *Henry*, and all is seoure and well on this side.

The King of *France*, who would gladly have impeached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his journey to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of *England*; who having now almost surrounded *France* (by possessing first all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine* by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make unto him; then the Earldome of *Maine*, *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he also layes claime to the rich Earldome of *Tholouse* upon this Title:

William Duke of Aquitaine grandfather to *Queene Elionor*, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of *Tholouse*, and going to the holy Wars, ingaged that Earldome to *Raymond Earle of St. Gyles*, & never returned to redeeme it. *William* his sonne, father to *Queene Elionor*, eyther through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof; so that the Earle of *St. Giles* continuing in possession whilst he lived, left it to his sonne *Raymond*, of whom King *Louys* of *France* (having married *Elionor*, the daughter and heire of the late *William*) demaunded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. *Raymond* refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of a thing absolutely sold or forfeited: but being too weake to contend with a King of *France*, fell to an accord and married his sister *Constance*, widow of *Eustace sonne* to King *Stephen*, and so continues the possession. Now King *Henry* having married this *Elionor*, and with her was to have all the Rights she had, tendred likewise (as the King of *France* had done, in the same case) the summe formerly disbursed, upon the mortgage of that Earldome. And withall makes ready his sword to recover it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred upon it: as with *Raymond*, Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Aragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertained him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with covenant, that *Richard* should have the inheritance of the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, and the Earldome of *Poitou*. Besides, he takes into his protection *William Lord of Trancheville* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholouse*.

These aydes prepared, he leavies an Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earldome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with so many fayre words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre.

The Earle of *Tholouse* understanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craves ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise with a strong Armie, comes downe in person to succour *Tholouse*, and was there before the King of *England* could arrive with his Forces; whereupon, seeing himselfe prevented, and in dis. advantage, King *Henry* fell to spoyling the Country, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholousians*, and so returns into *Normandy*, gave the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his Forces, and enters the

The resignation of *Nants* to the King of *England*.

King *Henries* claime to the Earldome of *Tholouse*.

1159.
Anno
Reg. 5.

the Countrey of *Beauvoisin*, where he destroyes many Castles, and commits great spoyles. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, he obtained of the Earle de *Auranches*, the two strong Castles *Rochford* and *Monford*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orlance* and *Paris*; inso much as the Warre and weather grew hot betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of blood was like to follow, but that amediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, With a match betwixt the young Prince *Henry*, not seven yeares of age, and the Lady *Margaret* eldest daughter to the King of *France* scarce three: weake links, to hold in so mighty Princes. The young Lady was delivered rather as an Ostage than a Bride, to *Robert de Newburge*, to be kept till her yeares would permit her to live with her husband. In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betwixt the Parents: The first whereof grew upon the King of *England* getting into his owne hand the Castle of *Gisors*, with two other Castles upon the River *Eata*, in the confines of *Normandy*: delivered up before the due time by three Knights *Templars*, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consummated. And this cost some blood: the Knight *Templars* are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receives them.

But now the advantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatives of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of *Henry* the first, were thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction beyond their vocations, and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all advantages for themselves, whereby they deprived his Mother and her Issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards, by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke his Sword, the Justice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein shewed him rather their power, than their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done against him at first, than layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise all advantages for their owne advancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion; and therefore is he easily drawne to abate their power in what he could.

To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layd more weights, alledging how the immunities of the Clergy took up so much from the Royalty, as his execution of justice, could have no generall passage in the kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority than their owne, and being exempt from secular punishments, many enormous acts were committed by Clergy men, without any redresse to be had; and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, there had bene above a hundred Monasteries committed within the Realme of *England* by Priests and men within Orders.

Now had the King, a little before (upon the death of *Theobald* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and servant of his owne, to that See. A man whom first from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancellor, and making him Diligent, Frustly and Wise, imployes him in all his greatest busineses of the State: by which tryall of his service and fidelity, hee might expect to have him ever the readier to advance his affayres, upon all occasions. And besides, to shew how much hee respected

1160.
Anno
Reg. 6.

Prince *Henry* contracted to *Margaret* daughter to the King of *France*.

The King seeks to abate the power of the Clergy, and the cause thereof.

Complaints against the Clergy.

1161.
Anno
Reg. 7.

Thomas Becket preferred to the See of *Canterbury*.

the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, & Robert de Lucie, chiefe Iustice of England had made him his acquittance for all accounts, and secular receits, in the behalfe of the King: and so (free and cleared) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.

The King, notwithstanding, urging to have judgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts and disobedience, he was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, he celebrates early with great devotion, the Masse of St. Stephen Protomartyr, which had these words: *Etenim sederunt Principes, & adversum me loquebantur*; and so committing his cause to God sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonick hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left. The people seeing him come in this fashion, flock all about him; he entering the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the King being within, in his Privy Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came forth the Bishop of London, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Arch-Bishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of Winchester seeing, sayd to London, Brother, let him alone, he ought well to beare the Crosse: London replies, you speake brother against the King, and it will be ill for you. After this comes forth the Arch-Bishop of Yorke (the heate of whose ancient hatred, saith Hoveden, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King had a sword sharper than his Crosse, and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him.* Canterbury replies, *the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Arch-Bishop Becker invayes against this Violent proceeding against him: *How no age ever heard before, that an Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had bene adjudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoever, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that he is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his Subjects.* Thento the Bishops, *You see the World rageth against me, the enemy riseth up; but I more lament, the Sons of my Mother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leave me alone in the Battell, and have judged against me, being your Father, though never so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and perill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of judgement, where my Person or cause comes to be adjudged. And here I appeale to the Pope: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, that if any Temporall man lay hands on me, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-Bishop, who will not shrinke howsoever, nor leave the Flocke committed unto him.*

Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, disobedience and Perjury, exhibited, and aggravated against him before the assembly, and they cryed generally he was a Traytor, that having received so many benefites at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and observe his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, Renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience unto him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a perjur'd man and a Traytor.

Then the Earle of Leicester accompanied with Reginald Earle of Cornwall, came to the Arch-Bishop, and charged him from the King to answer to what was objected unto him, or else to heare his judgement. Nay, some Earle, said he, first heare you: *It is not unknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I have served the*

Roger Hoveden.

Complaints
against the
Archbishop.

the King, and how in regard thereof he preferred me to the place I have (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it upon me, rather for his pleasure, than Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election he made me free from all Courts bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am delivered, I am not bound to answer, nor will I. *How much the soule is worthier than the body, so much are you bound to obey God, and me rather than any earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand cyther to the Iudgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adjudged, committing all I have to Gods protection and his; and under this authority I depart off this place.* And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings servants.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (rejoycing to see him delivered) and divers of the Clergy conveyed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint Andrewes, whence disguised (by the name of Dereman) he escaped over into Flanders and so to France.

This businesse of the Church, I have the more particularly delivered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Sovereignty, and the rest of the body, as it could not well be omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grievous burthen it layed upon him for many yeares, is worthy of note, and shewes us what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were used in this Oppugnation.

Presently upon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends over to the King of France, Gilbert Bishop of London, and William Earle of Arundell, to entreat him, not onely to forbid the Arch-Bishop his Kingdome, but to be a meane to the Pope, that his cause might not be favoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Sovereigne Lord.

The King of France notwithstanding this intreaty, sends Fryer Francis his Almoner under hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as he tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, to support the cause of Thomas of Canterbury, against the Tyrant of England.

King Henry sends likewise with all speede, Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chester and Excester: Guido Rufus, Richard Incester, and John of Oxford, Clerkes: William Earle of Arundell, Hugh de Gundevile, Barnard de Saint Walleric, and Henry Fitz Gerrard, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and prevent the Arch-Bishops complaint. The multitude and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to have his cause prevaille. They finde the Pope at the City of Sens, to whom, they shewed how pervers and disobedient the Arch-Bishop had behaved himselfe to his Sovereigne Lord the King of England; how he alone refused to obey his Lawes and Customes, which he had sworne to doe; and that by his peevish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary; and therefore they besought him, as he tendred the peace of the Church of England, and the love of the King their Sovereigne, not to give credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent and dangerous a spirit.

The Arch-Bishop
disguised
fled out of the
Kingdome.

The King
sends Ambassadors
to the Pope.

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly urged) they found moved not any disposition in the Pope to favour the Kings cause, so that in the end, *They besought him to send two Legats over into England, to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had beene carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation.* The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the Commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-Bishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feet: delivers him a copy of those Lawes, which the King called his *grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, *The Pope condemned them for ever, and accursed those who obeyed or any way favoured them.*

Those Lawes among the Statutes of Clarendon, which the Arch-Bishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of London appeares) these especially: *That there should be no appeale to the Apostolicke See, without the Kings leave. That no Arch-Bishop or Bishop should goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permission. That no Bishop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite, or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leave, &c. That Clergy men should be drawne to secular judgement. That Lay-men (as the King and others) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like.* And these were dangerous incroachments upon their Liberties.

But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heave displeasure, and the scorne he tooke, knowne by his severe Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Arch-Bishop, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: Ordayning, *That if any were found carrying Letters, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-Bishop, containing any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken, and without delay executed as a traitor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatsoever Bishop, Priest, Monke or Conventer in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, should have and retaine any such letters; should forfeite all their possessions, goods and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergymen, Monke or other should be permitted to passe over Sea, or returne out of Normandy into England, without letters from the Iustices heere, or from the King being there; Upon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any revenue in England should returne into the Realme within three moneths, upon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King.*

That Peter Pence should be collected and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were further knowne.

Besides this, he banishes all that were found to be any way of kinne to the Arch-Bishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeares. And withall, takes occasion upon the Schisme which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope Alexander, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

After the death of Adrian the fourth, Rowland Genevese, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of Alexander the third, to which election foure Cardinalls opposed, and made choice of Octavian a Citizen of Rome that would be called Victor the fifth. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa summons these two Popes to a Council at Pavia, to understand & determine their right. Alexander makes the old answer, *That the Pope could not be judged by any man living*, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, & withdrawes into Anagnia. Victor consentes to appeare there or where ever the Emperour would appoint, so that, he was the man for that

1166.
Anno
Reg. 12

The Kings
Edicts against
the Pope and
his agents.

The election
of two Popes.

that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge Alexander for Pope, as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of France who called him thither; and at Cocy upon Loyr, he and the King of England received him with all honour and reverence, in so much, as they are sayd to have attended upon his Stirrop, the one on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at Tours, whither the Kings of England, Spaine and Hungary send their Ambassadors, and there, are the constitutions of the Councell of Pavia, and the Emperours confirmation of Victor nullified, so that Alexander having his party daily encreasing in Italy, was shortly after received into Rome.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of England finding him so avers in this businesse, Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seeks to strengthen himselfe with the Princes of Germany, consents to match his daughter Maude to the Duke of Saxony, at the motion of Reginald Arch-Bishop of Colen, sent over by the Emperour for that purpose, and entertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours son.

But now by reason this contrary faction to Pope Alexander grew to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Arch-Bishop, Who solicites the Clergy of England, threatens, entreats, adjures them not to forsake their Priest-hood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to be made upon them, they were undone. Then excommunicates he all the especiall ministers of the King that adhered to the Tentonique faction, or held intelligence with the Arch-Bishop of Colen: As John of Oxford, Richard Incehester, Richard de Lucie, Iossling Balliol, Alan de Nevile, and with these all such as had entred upon the goods of the Church of Cantebury, which he called the Patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore: and there were Ralph de Brocke, Hugh Saint Clare, and Thomas Fitz Barnard. Thus are both sides busied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gave vexation enough.

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke up the Kings time; for during this dissention, the Welsh againe revolt, and to suppress them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that danger, as had not Hubert Saint Clare received a Wound for him, by an Arrow aimed directly at his owne person, he had there finished his part. In this expedition he is sayd, to have used extreame crueltie.

After this, he passes into Normandy to be neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertaine the opinion of Piety (though he were false out with the Pope) he obtaines at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of Normandy, two pence in the pound, of every mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare 1166. and a penny of every pound to be paid for foure yeares following, which was levied for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy War, and sent unto them.

Then he raises forces and takes in certaine Castles in the Country of Maine, and Marches of Brittain, from divers Lords and Barons that had disobeyed him. And whilst he was busie abroad, Mathew Sonne to the Earle of Flanders (who had married the Lady Mary Abbess of Ramsey, daughter to King Stephen, and had by her the Country of Bologne) attempted something on the Coast of England, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any such weake undertaker.

Pope Alexander
orders Letters to
the Clergy of
England.

The King re-
presses the
Welsh.

1166.
Anno
Reg. 13.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Conan* Earle of Brittain dyes, and leaves one onely daughter (which he had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succcede him in his State. The King of *England* being then in Armes upon the Marches of Brittain, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third sonne *Geffery*. The Nobilitie of that Country being then of a rough, and haughtie disposition (given to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought upon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The Death of
Mau de the
Empresse.

This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as some write, dyed his mother *Mau de* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and active Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she lived to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse and Peace: Fertile in issue, having now had foure sons and three daughters, linkes of love and strength (oftentimes in private families though seldom in Princes;) and she left him in the best time of his dayes before any great tempest overtooke him.

Three yeares after this he employes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from usurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatnesse held all in awe) and they must have no more than he would: especially he settles and reformes the State of *Brittaine*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which being somewhat appeased, he keeps a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feasts the Nobility of the Country.

1169.
Anno
Reg. 16

Then returns he into *England*, where, left peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subjects, he looks to that divine, and almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Iustice, appointed certaine Commissioners as Syndics to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grievously punishes the Shriefes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, he keeps at *Windfor*, whither repayres unto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately succeeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *David*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and also continue his claime to those peeces in the North, which he pretended to be unjustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as he had done his brother with faire words, and tells him, *How it was not in his power to doe any thing therein, without the consent of the State in Parliament; which if he would attend, there should be that course taken, as he hoped might give him satisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predecessor had done before.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs still over him, daily threatening the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemed the Pope of himselfe, was not very forward to proceede to that extremity, but would gladly have quieted the Arch-Bishop otherwise; Who (he sayd) had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble; and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishops of *London* and *Hereford*, willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding upon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-Bishop to his See and Dignity.

The Pope
writes to the
Bishops of
England.

The Bishops
answere to the
Popes Letter.

The Bishops wisely answer the Popes Letter, in substance thus: *We have (sayd they) done your Holinesse Message, and as much as was decent for the Ma-*

iestie

iestie of a King, instantly urged him to satisfie your desire, made by us. And if he had erred from the way of truth and Iustice, that he would not delay to returne thereunto; that he would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of *Rome*, hinder appeales, oppresse Churches and Church-men, or suffer others so to doe: That he would call home our Father the Arch-Bishop, &c. and persist in the workes of Piety; that he by whom Kings Reigne might preserve unto him his temporall Kingdome, and give him an eternall in Heaven: And that unless he would yeeld to your holy Admonitions, you, who had thitherto endured, could in patience forbear no longer. Besides, we added this of ourselves, how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor yet prosper.

The King received your admonitions with many thanks, much temperance and modestie, and answers to every point. First, he protested that in no sort he averted his minde from your Holinesse, nor ever purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, he would love you as a Father; reverence and cherish the Church as his Mother. And humbly obey your sacred Decrees, saving his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome; and if of late he had not respected you with any reverence, the cause was that, having with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessity, he was not answered worthily to his desarts upon his recourse to you by his Ambassadour, but in every petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your Holinesse, he answers he will not, nor hath hitherto done.

But for Appeales, by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, He challenges that honour, and cumber to himselfe; that no Clergy man for any civill cause shall goe out of the Land till he had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if he cannot, he may (without any hindrance) when he will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way he doth prejudice Your Honour, he offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall be ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though he knew him a Schismaticke, he never understood he was excommunicate. But if he be by us informed thereof, or hath entred unlawfull league with him, or any other, he promises likewise to adresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of *Canterbury* (sayd he) that he never expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as he went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: provided, that his Majestie might be satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and have him to observe his Royall Dignitie. And if it can be proved, that any Church, or Church-man, hath beene oppressed by the King, or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell, of the Church of his Kingdome.

This (say they) we have received in answer from our Lord the King, and wish we could have had it fully according to your desire; but these things wee thought good to notifie to your Highnesse, that your Discretion may perceive what is like to be the conclusion of this businesse. The King stands upon the justification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and judgement of the Church of *England*. Whereupon we thought good to beseech your Highnes, that you would moderate for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the divine Spirit, is worthily inkindled, to revenge any injurie done to the Church of God) and forbear to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last judgement of absolution, whereby innumerable Churches may be miserably subverted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irrevocably (which God forbid) averted from your obedience.

Then

Then they tell him, *That better it were to have a member bad, than cut off: abscission brought desperation: A skilfull Chirurgion might recover an infected part, and how it were fitter to employ some meanes to heale the Wound, than by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, so bring more disturbance to the same that hath too much already: though the King were stiffe, they ought not to despair of the grace of God; that a Kings stomack was then to be won, when he had won, and might not blush to yeeld, when he had overcome: Patience, and Meeknesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, we speake foolishly (say they) but yet with all charity: if it come to passe, that the Lord of Canterbury lose both his goods; And live besides in perpetuall exile; and England, (which God forbid) fall away from your obedience; were it not better to forbear for a time, than with such zeale of severity to foster up a partye what if persecution cannot separate many of us from you, yet will there not want knees to bow to Baal, and receive the Pall of Canterbury at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion or Iustice: neyther will there want supplies of our Chayres that will obey him with all devotion, and already many devoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight wayes be made crooked.*

Thus much out of their Letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew us more of the inside of affayres, than any relations else. And by this we truly see what barres kept these two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loud they threaten, and both a feard of each other.

But the King of England stood safe enough, and was like to have his businesse runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer than fast, hee layes open a way both to disjoynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with division; which was by the association of his sonne Henry in the government, an act without example in this Kingdome, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, convoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the love he bare his sonne, as he would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to have twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty unto him, and to have designed, unlesse he were crowned King, as he was, with all usuall solemnities the 14. day of June, 1170. by Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, and had homage done unto him that day by the King of Scots, David his brother, and all the Nobilitie of England. But now with what reservations this was done, wee are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to have the especiall manage of the Government, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a sonne, with a limited power. Howsoever, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to be made over in trust, and layd much griefe, and repentance, upon his Fathers forwardnesse.*

What mooved the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Grave) may be deemed the jealousye hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy, and now considering in what termes he stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops unto him, was sure they loved him not, and what they might worke with the people, if him selfe should faile, made him over-doe his worke.

The King of France, understanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it

ill, and threatens King Henry the Father with Warre, if it were not presently done; which causes him to make more haste backe againe into Normandy (leaving the young King in England) to satisfie or prevent this quarrelling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, (who had bene now six yeares in exile) was brought to have conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and divers great Bishops; which the King of England was the more willing to accept, in regard he saw this breach with the Church might much prejudice his temporall businesse, whensoever they should breake out: And how the Arch-Bishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian World against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a Ruler of bodies, was to be considered.* And therefore descends he from the highth of his will to his necessity, and they meeete at Montmirall before the King of France, where the Arch-Bishop kneeling at the feete of his Sovereigne Lord the King of England, sayd, *He would commit the whole cause in controversie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserved.*

The King (who had bene often used to that reservation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of France, and the rest, *Whatsoever displeaseth this man, he would have to be against Gods honour, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to me: But because, you shall not thinke me to goe about to resist Gods honour, and him, in what shall be fit, looke what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors have done to the meanest of mine, let him doe the same to me, and it shall suffice.* Which answer being, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of France, sayd to the Arch-Bishop, *Will you be greater than Saints? better than Saint Peter? what can you stand upon? I see it is your fault, if your peace be not made.* The Arch-Bishop replies to this effect: *that as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the providence of God, come to that estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had bene fuint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers (sayd he) suffered all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans favour living, derogate any thing from his honour?*

This haughty reply of a subject to so yeelding an offer of his Sovereigne, so much distasted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceede from obstinacy than zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake up. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the businesse. And the King of France, (at whose charge lay the Arch-Bishop all this while) came to another conference with them, upon the Confinnes of Normandy: *Where, the King of England tooke the Arch-Bishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Arch-Bishops bridel, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any.* In the end by mediation of the Arch-Bishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon Henry the Father, writes to Henry the sonne, being then in England, in this wise: *Know yee that Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that he and all his have peace; and that you cause to be restored unto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of England, all their substances, in as full*

Becket's submission to the King.

The Kings offer to Becket.

Becket's reply.

The King and Becket accorded.

Prince Henry crowned King

1170.
Anno
Reg. 10

Becket re-
turnes into
England.

full and honorable manner, as they held it, three moneths before their going, &c. And thus by this letter we see, in which King the commaund lay.

The Arch-Bishop returning into England (not as one who had fought his peace; but informed it) with larger power to his resolution than before, *Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Arch-Bishop of Yorke from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his leave, and against the Popes Commandment; and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautionarie Oath, for conservation of the liberties of the Church.* He brought also letters to suspend in like manner, *The Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, and Landaffe, for doing service at the Coronation, and upholding the Kings cause against him.* And by these letters were they all to remaine suspended, till they had satisfied the Arch-Bishop in so much as he thought fit.

Thus to returne home, shewed that he had the better of the time, and came all untied, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (having no other refuge) they repaire to the King in Normandy, and shewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-Bishop, *How since his returne he was growne so imperious as there was no living under him.* Wherewith the King was so much moved, as he is sayd in extreame passion to have uttered these words; *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely Priest? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir Hugh Morville, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittain, and Sir Raynold Fitz Vrs, (then attending upon the King, and gessing his desire by his words) depart presently into England, to be the unfortunate executioners of the same: but by some it seemes rather, these foure Gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Arch-Bishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function: and thirdly to beare himselfe with moderation in his place, whereby the Church might have comfort upon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.*

But they finding the Arch-Bishop not answering their humour, but peremptory and untractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, and first from threatening force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-Bishop was withdrawne, the Monks a divine Service; and there calling him Traytor, and furiously reviling him, gave him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood be sprinkled the Altar. His behaviour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passion in committing the cause of the Church, with his foule to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggravates the hatred of the deede, and makes compassion and opinion, to be on this side.

The unfortunate Gentlemen (having effected this great great service, rifled the Arch-Bishops house, and after weighing the foulness of what they had committed, and doubtful whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselves into the North parts; and from thence pursued, fled into severall Countries, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miserable Fugitives.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth over all the Christian world, every pen that had passion, was presently set on Worke. The King of France (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggravation

The murder-
ring of
Becket.

The Murder-
ers miserable
end.

The King of
France in-
formes the
Pope of Be-
cket's mur-
der.

vation of the foulness thereof, and incites him to use the most exquisite punishment he could, *To unsheath Peters sword, to revenge the death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose blood cries out for all the Church, and whose divine glory was already revealed in miracles.*

Theobald Earle of Blois, a great and grave Prince (elder brother to King Stephen) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him, *how he was at the peace-making betwene the King of England and this blessed Martyr; and with what a cheerefull countenance, with what willingnesse the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to use his authority as it should please the Pope and him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right and dignity of the Church of Canterbury, presumed to intrude the New King into the Royall throne.* And this he would justifie by his Oath, or howsoever; and in this peace (saith he) *the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke under the sword: this just blood was shed, where the shot of our salvation, the blood of Christ is offered.* And then, *how Court dogs, the Kings familiars & domesticks, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation, likewise of revenge.*

But William Arch-Bishop of Sens comes with a more maine out-cry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he never so dead asleepe; and tels him, *How he was appointed over Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in heaven and earth was given to his Apostleship: bids him looke how the Bore of the Wood had rooted up the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboth, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of holy writ.* And after, having bitterly envyeed against the King, uses these words: *It imports you, O most milde keeper of the Walls of Ierusalem, to revenge that which is past, and provide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyrannie shall imbrow the Sancta Sanctorum with blood, and teare in peeces the Vice-gerents of Christ, the softer children of the Church, without punishment? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiastical power you may, &c.*

Such and so great was the uprore of the Church raised upon these motives, as notwithstanding the King of England, (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) employed the most especiall men could be chosen in all his Dominions, for reputation, learning and judgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope; to vow and protest that he was so far from willing such a deede to be done, as he was from doing it himselfe, and how grievously he took the matter when he heard thereof; yet so deepe was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denyed Audience to his Ambassadors, but every Cardinall, and all other his Ministers, refused to have any conference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they endured; and now the contempt they found there; did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them. Yet for all this, were there those brave Spirits among them, (as great Princes have alwayes great Ministers) that never gave over working to cleare their maiesties honour, by Apologies, Remonstrances, and all whatsoever wit could devise, and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were every day threatned and expected. And having (by gravely urging the mischiefs, might follow in the Church, if a King of so great a State and stomacke, should be driven to take desperate courtes) given some pause, and allay to the first heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could give the King no great security, yet they advertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinalls *A Latere, Gratianus* and *Pivianus*

The Earle of
Blois informes
likewise.

The Arch-
bishop of Sens
writes to the
Pope.

The King de-
clares his in-
nocency by
Embassage to
the Pope.
Pope and Car-
dinalls denied
audience, re-
fused con-
ference.

Vivianus downe into Normandy, did exceedingly vex him. For they were rough against him, and would have interdicted him, and his Dominions: but being forewarned of their comming and intention, he appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of Normandy, into England, he gives strict commandement, *That no brieve-carrier of what condition or order soever, without giving good security for his behaviour to the King and Kingdome, be suffered to passe the Seas.*

Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing undone that concerned the advancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shew his power, and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into Ireland (having commaunded a Navie of foure hundred ships to be ready at Milford Haven for the transportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and sets forth in the beginning of November, an unseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the invasion of a Countrey, not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, having had an intention thereof, ever since the second yeare of his Reigne, in which *Hee sent a solemne Ambassage to Pope Adrian the fourth, to crave leave for the subduement of that Countrey, under pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the faith and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly granted, and returns the Ambassadors, with an autenticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. *First, shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on earth, and heape up reward of eternall felicity in Heaven, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and unlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Christian faith and civility. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute what soever should be to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reservation of Church-rights, and Peterpence (a penny of every house yearly, which he had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concludes, with an exhortation to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergy, &c.*

But the King at that time, having other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to be againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrough* one of the five Kings which then ruled that Island, comes into Aquitaine to crave his ayde against *Rodoricke* the Great, called *O Conor Dun*, King of Connaught, who contending for the Sovereignty of the whole, had chased him out of his Dominion of *Lemster*.

The King of England (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld passage of it selfe without being broken up, intertaynes this ejected King with promises of ayde; and though he could not as then furnish him, being engaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits such of his subjects as would, to adventure their Fortunes with him. But the occasion, of dissention, betwene these two Irish Kings was indeed foule on the part of *Dermot*, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of *Rodoricke*, and for that odious injurie, with his injustice to his people (the common causes of ruining & transferring Kingdomes) he was by *Strong hand* chased out of his Dominion of *Lemster*; and thereupon makes out for *Forraine* ayde. And (having thus dealt with the King of England) hee betakes him into Wales, where first hee wrought one *Robert Fitz Stephen*, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him; and afterward *Richard* (of the House of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate, in *Monmouth-shire*) Earle of *Ghepflow*, or *Strigill*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed,

and

The conquest of Ireland.

Dermot's complaint against O Conor to King Henry.

Dermot's offences.

and of great possessions both in England and Normandy, which gave him meanes for his entertainments. *Fitz Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards; the Earle of marriage with *Eva* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the succession of the kingdome of *Lemster*.

Fitz Stephen with *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed over first with a small company, and landed at the place called by the Irish *Bag-bun*, which in English signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof his rime retaines yet the memory, *At the head of Bagge and Bun Ireland was lost and wonne*. And the next day after arrived at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at Armes, and many Archers in two ships, parcell of *Fitz Stephens* forces, which from thence marched to the City of *Weisford* with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the Irish unacquainted with so unusuall a face of warre, were overcome with feare, and rendred up themselves to their mercy, with their City of *Weisford*, which with the Countrey about was given by *Dermot* to *Robert Fitz Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the English, which ever since hath continued, retaining still in a sort our ancient attire, & much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name *Weisford speech*.

The next yeare are new supplies sent out of Wales, and after, upon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of *Pembrooke* arrives in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at Armes, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called *Portlargo*, puts the inhabitants to the sword, (to give terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* gives him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey; which, after his wickednesse had done, hee lived not to see more yeares (having had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leaving the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies *the strangers friend*, added to his name in memory of his unnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

Strong-bow, after having secured the places gotten, marches with those small forces hee had over the Island without resistance. *Rodoricke* the great (shewing himselfe but a litle Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesse of *Connaught*, and never came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the countrey at his pleasure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants, to secure their obedience, and with as litle labour possesse himself of the City of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus Wales got us first the Realme of Ireland, and (which is most strange) without stroke of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrey so populous, a Nation of that disposition should not lift up a hand to defend it selfe, having, it seemes, either neglected the use of armour, or else never beene acquainted with them (other than in a naked manner of domestick fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange & never before seene forces in order of warre, laid them prostrate to the mercy of the *Over-runner*.

But the King of England advertised of the prosperous successe of these Adventurers and the estate of the countrey, grew in jealousy of them, thinking they presumed farther than their subjection would allow, and would make themselves that which they must be made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that should be onely his, causes proclamation to be made: *That no vessel should carry any thing out of his dominions into Ireland, and that all his subjects should returne from thence, and leave off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit*

The Conquest of Ireland.

Triginta Militibus.

The beginning of May.

1170.
Anno
Reg. 161171.
Anno
Reg. 17

1172.
Anno
Reg. 18

forfeit their Estates at home. And withall sends over William Fitz Adelm, and Robert Fitz Bernard with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, & lands eight miles from Waterford the Eve of Saint Luke, Anno 1172, being the third yeare after the first Invasion made by Fitz Stephen.

The Irish Kings
Submission.

At his first landing, a white Hart starting out of a Bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a presage of a white Victory. The next day he marches to Waterford, where hee stayed fiftene dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of Eorke, Limrick, Oxery, Meth, and all of any power in Ireland (except Roderick King of Connaught, who still kept himself in the fastnesse of his Countrey) & submitted themselves with all the Clergy, taking their Oath of fealty to him & the young King, & their successors for ever; so these divided Princes holding no common Councell for the publicke safety, rather than to joyn those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselves, & with the same emulation they had in liberty, strove for their servitude, who would be first to receive a forraigne Master.

Henries reformation of Ireland.

From Waterford the King goes to Dublin, where he holds an Assembly of all these subject Kings, with the Lords Spirituall & Temporall of Ireland, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done, he causes the Bishops with the Clergy there to assemble at Cassell, and appoints an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of Landaffe to be Assistants & advisors unto them for reformation of Church busineses, which seemesto have beene as disordered as the people. For though the Irish had beene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion; and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to doe a worke pleasing to the present, it was decreed, That all Church-lands should be free from exaction of secular men; and that from thenceforth, all divine things should be ordered and used in every part of Ireland according to the manner of the Church of England, being fit (as saith the Canon) that as Ireland hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord & K. out of England, so from thence they should receive a better forme of life and manners, than heretofore they used.

His Christmasse he keepes at Dublin, where he royally feasts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the rest of his being there he employes in fortifying and planting Garrisons where most need required: he makes Hugh Lacy Justice of all Ireland, gives him the keeping of Dublin, and besides confirmed unto him and his heires by his Charter, the Countrey of Meth to hold the same in Fee, for the service of a hundreth Knights: he bestowes on Robert Fitz Bernard the keeping of the Townes of Waterford and Weisford (which he tooke from Fitz Stephen the first invador) with charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earle Strongbow, and levell him with the rest of his subjects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which through thus easily won, it proved more difficult and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosecution of a full establishment thereof was neither by him nor his successors (having other divertments) ever thoroughly accomplished.

On Easter munday hee sets out for England, where he makes no stay, but takes the young King along in his company, and passes over into Normandy, to meete other two Legates [Theodinus and Albertus] who were sent from Pope Alexander (but in milder fashion than the last) to examine the murder of the late Archbishop Becket. Foure months were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken upon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Evangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of

of King Henry the sonne, the Archbishop of Rouen, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of Normandy in the Citle of Auranches purged himselfe of either commanding or consenting to the murder. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might bee moved thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath, that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: First, never to forsake Pope Alexander, nor his Catholick successors so long as they used him as a Catholick King. Secondly, that Appelles should freely be made to the Pope, in cases Ecclesiasticall. Provided, that if any were suspected to worke evill to him, or his kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. Thirdly, that hee would (from Christmas next for three yeares to come) undertake the crasse, and the summer following, in person to goe to Ierusalem, unlesse he were hindered by the Pope or his successors, or employed against the Sarafins in Spaine. Fourthly, that in the meantime, he should deliver so much money into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine 200 souldiers in the holy Warre for one yeare. Fifthly, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Archbishop. Sixtly, restore his possessions. Seventhly and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had beene introduced to the prejudice of the Church. After himself had sworn, he caused King Henry his son to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more memory in the Roman Church, he caused his Seale to be set unto them, with that of the two Cardinals. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the world than any hee had, and bowed him more: being his ill fortune to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world, set up his rest, not to yeeld to a King, was onely ingaged to his cause, had opinion and beleefe to take his part; which so much prevailed, as the King seeking to master him, advanced him; and now is he faine to kneele and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and having had him above his will whilst he lived, hath him now over his faith being dead. And yet forty eight yeares after this, saith the French History, it was disputed among the Doctors of Paris, whether hee were damned or saved: And one Roger a Norman maintained, hee had justly deserved death, for rebelling against his Sovereigne the Minister of God.

His purgation
for Becket's
murder.

Both Kings
sweare to these
Articles.

Henry the son
is againe crown-
ed with Mar-
garet his wife.

To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, & content the King of France, Henry the son is againe crowned, and with him Margaret his wife, with permission shortly after to goe visite Paris; where, this young King, apt enough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, received those instructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceive, How to be a King was to be a power above, and undeniable.

And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion. The Father ever awake to advance his greatnesse, takes a journey in person into Avergnia, and so to Monserrato, and there purchases a match for the price of five thousand Markes, for his youngest sonne Iohn, with Alice the eldest daughter of Hurbert, Earle of Mauriena (then as it seemes) Lord of Piemont & Savoy; with condition to have with her the inheritance of all those Countreies, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in Roger Hoveden, with all the circumstances and covenants, very remarkable of the contract. So unto greatnesse (that easier increases than begins) is added more meanes, and every way opens to this active and powerfull King, advantages of State, in so much, as the King of France was even surrounded with the power and dependances of this mighty King of England, whose Fortunes

1173.
Anno
Reg. 19

The homage
of Raymond
Earle of Saint
Giles for the
Earledome of
Tholouse.

Henry the son
takes displea-
sure against
his father.

most of all the neighbour Princes (which subsist by other, than their owne power) now follow. And being returned from concluding this march in *Piemont*, there comes to him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond Earle of Saint Giles* (by whom was given the first affront hee had in *France*) now to doe homage unto him for the Earledome of *Tholouse*; And there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his sonne *Richard Earle of Poitou*, to hold *Tholouse* from them (by hereditary right) for service of comming unto them upon their summons, and remaining in their service forty dayes at his own charge: And if they would entertaine him longer, to allow him reasonable expences. Besides, the Earle should pay yearly, for *Tholouse* and the appertinances, a hundred Markes of silver, or ten horses worth ten Markes a peece.

About the same time also came the Earle *Hubert to Limoges*. (to know what Land the King of *England* would assure his sonne *Iohn*) who resolved to give unto him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirabe*. Wherewith King *Henry* the sonne grew much displeased, and here moved his Father, either to resigne unto him the Dutchy of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Aniou*, or the kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more eger being incensed by the King of *France*, and the discontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandy*, who were many, and false, or wrought from the Father upon new hopes, and the advantage of a devised Sovereignty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first be taken (may seeme to be the worke of *GODS* speciall judgement) being those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne naturall brother *Geffery*, contrary to his Oath made unto his Father, as is before related: so (as it to tell injustice, that it must bee duely repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischief upon him, and to give a beginning to the foulest discord that could bee: Wherein hee had not onely the children of his owne body, but the wife of his owne bed to conspire and practise against him.

For, hereupon the sonne suddainly breaking away from the Father, came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to prevent the over-growing of a neighbour but to divide him) summons and solicites the Princes of *France*, and all the friends he could make, to ayde King *Henry* the sonne against the father, and to take their Oath, either to depose him of his Estate, or bring him to their own conditions. The young King likewise sweares unto them, never to have peace with his father without their consents, and all sweares to give unto *Philip Earle of Flanders* for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the County of *Kent*, *Dover*, and *Rochester Castles*: To *Mathew Earle of Bologne* brother to the said Earle, for his service, *Kerton Soak* in *Lindsey*, the Earledome of *Morton* with the Honor of *Heize*: To *Theobald Earle of Bloys*, two hundred pounds by yeare in *Aniou*: the Castle of *Amboys* with all the right hee pretended in *Turaine*, &c. And all these Donations with divers others, hee confirmed by his new Seale, which the King of *France* caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, hee confirmed to the King of *Scots* for his aide all *Northumberland* unto *Tyne*: and gave to the brother of the same King for his service, the Earledomes of *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge*: To the Earle *Hugh Bigot* the Castle of *Norwich*: other Earles of *England*, as *Robert Earle of Leicester*, *Hugh Earle of Chester*, *Roger Mowbray*, &c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the *Lyonskin*, that was yet alive.

Besides,

Besides, they draw into their party *Richard* and *Geffery*, whose youths (apt to be wrought on for the increafe of their allowance) are easily inticed; and conceived abused of her bed. So that this great King in the midst of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, comes suddenly forsaken of his owne people, and is driven through distrust to hire, and entertaine strange forces; procuring twenty thousand *Brabansons* (which were certaine Mercenaries commonly called *Routs* or *Costerels*) for the recovery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers he had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him: as *William Earle Mandevile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, &c.

But howsoever we have seene the best of this Kings glory; and though hee had after this, good successes, he had never happinell; labour he did by all meanes to have qualified the heate of his distempered sonne, by many mediations of peace; offering all convenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not prevaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of *France*, with all his forces enters upon his Territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* seizes upon *Northumberland*, and makes great spoyle. The old King complains to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the unnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improvident advancing him. *William* King of *Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* besieges *Vernoul*, a place of great strength and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monethes siege, they of the Towne (victuals fayling) obtained truce of the king of *France*, and permission to send unto their Sovereigne for succour, which if it came not within three dayes, they would render the City, and in the meane time their hostages. The peremptorie day was the Eve of *Saint Lawrence*. The King of *France* with King *Henry* the sonne, and with divers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendered the Citie at the day appointed, their hostages should be re-delivered, and no dammage done to the Citie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces hee could make, came just at the limited day, disposes his Army to strike Battaille with his enemies; but the King of *France* (to avoyde the same) sends the Archbishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys* to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow: this day lost, lost *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow-parle, the King of *France* neither comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to covenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sacks, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof, removes his Campe, and leaves the King of *England* disappointed; who that night, after having pursued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into *Vernoul*, and the morrow surprises *Danville* a Castle of his enemies, with many Prisoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence hee sent his *Brabansons* into *Brittaine* against *Hugh Earle of Chester*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had posselt themselves almost of the whole Countrey; but being not able to resist the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side of *France*, recovered the Castles of *Dole*; where, they fortified and kept themselves, till King *Henry* the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it; and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the rest of the Countrey, yeelded themselves.

This overthrow being of such import, so terrified the Adversaries, as they

they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene Gisors and Try, wherein the King of England, (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his sonne Of halfe the revenues of the Crowne of England, with foure convenient Castles therein, or if he had rather remaine in Normandie, halfe the revenues thereof, and all the revenues of the Earledome of Anjou, &c. To his sonne Richard he offers halfe the revenues of Aquitaine, and foure Castles in the same. To Gessery, the Land that should come unto him by the daughter of the Earle Conon. Besides, he submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Tarento, and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their judgments should be held fit, reserving unto himselfe his Justice & Royall power: which yeelding grants, shewed how much he desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of France, that the same should take effect: for such perversnesse and indignity, was offered to King Henry in this Treaty, as Robert Earle of Leicester, is said to have reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his sword upon him; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, & their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene Curteles, and Gisors, but the French had the worse.

The Earle of Leicester with an Army makes over into England, is received by Hugh Bigot into the Castle of Fremingham. Richard de Lucy Chiefe Justice of England, and Humfrey Bohun the Kings Constable, being upon the borders of Scotland, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And haster to Saint Edmondsbury where the Earles of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundell joyne with them; they encounter the Earle of Leicester, at a place called Farnham, overthrew his Army, slew tennethousand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and divers great Prisoners, which were sent unto the King in Normandie, who, with his Army was not there idle, but daily got Castles, and Ports from his enemies, untill Winter constrained both Kings to take truce till Easter following; and the like did the Bishop of Duresme with the King of Scots, for which hee gave him three thousand Markes of silver, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of Northumberland.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King Henry the Sonne, and Philip Earle of Flanders, are ready at Graveling, with a great Army for England. The King of Scots is entered Northumberland, and sends his brother David with a power to succour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of Leicester, which held the Towne of Leicester, but without successe: for Richard Lucy, and the Earle of Cornwall had before razed the City, and taken Robert Mowbray, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

King Henry the Father upon his sonnes preparation for England, drawes his forces from his other employments, and brings them downe to Barshleet, arrives at Southampton with his Prisoners, Queene Elonor, Margaret the wife of his sonne Henry, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, and from thence goes to Canterbury to visit the Sepulchre of his owne Martyr, and performe his vowes for his victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, He alights, and went three miles on his bare foete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his devotion on the way. And as, if to recompence (the merit of the Worke) they note, How the very day when hee departed from Canterbury, the King of Scots to be overthrowne and taken at Alnwick, by the Forces of the Knights of Yorkshire, which are named to be, Robert de Stutewile, Odonel de Humfrantle, William de Vesey, Ralph de Glanvile, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol.

Lewis King of France hearing of King Henrys passage into England, and the

1174.

Anno

Reg. 20

Henry the firsts arrivall in England.

King Henry visits Becket's Sepulchre.

the taking of the King of Scots, calls back Henry the sonne, and the Earle of Flanders from Graveling, where they stayed expecting the Wind, and besieged Roan on all sides saving that of the River. The whilst King Henry is quieting and settling the State of England, where he had first the Castle of Huntingdon rendred unto his mercy, saving the lives and members of the Defendants; then the Castles of Fremingham and Bungie, which the Earle of Bigot held by force of Flemings, for whom the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon, but in the end they were sent home. From thence he goes to Northampton, where hee receives the King of Scots his prisoner, and the Castles of Duresme, Norham, and Alnerton rendred into his hands by the Bishop of Duresme; who, for all his service done in the North, stood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither Roger de Mowbray, yeelding up himselfe with his Castle of Treske: The Earle Ferrers his Castle of Tursbury and Duffield: Anketill, Mallory, and William Dine Constables of the Earle of Leicester, the Castles of Leicester, Montforill and Groby; so that within three weekes all England was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly dayes seemed onely reserved for the field.

This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen: King Henry with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, passes over into Normandie, to the reliefe of Roan: where those thousand Welshmen sent over the River Siene, entred and made way through the Campe of the King of France, slew a hundred of his men, and recovered a Wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of England (causing the Gates of the City to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled up againe, with rubbish and timber) marched forth with troupes, to provoke the enemy, but without any answer at all. In the end, the King of France, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, upon sufferance of the King of England, by the mediation of the Archbishop of Sens, and the Earle of Blouys, who undertooke that he should the next day come to a parle of peace, which he performed not.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so litle advantaged either him, or those for whom hee pretended to have undertaken it) hee employes the former Agents againe to the King of England: and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him and his sonnes. But with more reservation on his part, than had beene by the former treaty offered, as having now more of power, and the advantage of Fortune; and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, The goodnesse of his nature was not over-swayed with his ambition; all his proceeding in this Warre witnessing, that necessity did ever worke more than his will.

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne Henry would have done him homage (which is personall service) he refused to take it, because he was a King, but received it of Richard and Gessery. Yet after this, Henry the sonne to free his Father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore fealty unto him against all men, in the presence of the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Earle Mandeville, and a great Nobility.

At the concluding of this same Peace, the Earle of Flanders yeelded up to King Henry the Father, the Charter made unto him by the sonne for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension he had yearly out of England before this War, which was 1000 Markes out of the Exchequer, afterward granted upon condition of homage, and for finding the King of England

The King of Scots his prisoner.

King Henry favours the French Army.

The King and his sonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes, Roger Hoven.

England yearly five hundred souldiers for the space of forty dayes upon summons given.

This same businesse ended, the Father and the Sonne makes their Progresses into all their Provinces on that side, to visite and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their affaires there. Richard is sent into Aquitaine, and Gefferie into Brittain upon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsels to looke to their owne.

The two Kings, Father and Sonne, shortly after returne into England, where reformation in the Government needed as much as in France; and here had the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may be seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all vacancies, and gives to John de Oxenford (that great Minister of his) the Bishoprick of Norwich: Thentakes hee into his hands all the Castles hee could seise upon, amongst other the Towre of Bristol, which was rendered by the Earle of Gloucester, and was never in his hands before. He takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his Forrests in time of hostilitie: for which he is taxed of wrong, Richard Lucy Iustice of England, having warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeelded him, made him take the stricter regard therein. For after the death of Alaine de Nausle which had bene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of England, hee divides them into divers parts, appointing to every part foure Iustices, whereof two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Servants of his Household to be keepers of the Game over all other Forresters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoever, and gave them power to implea, according to the Asise of the Forrest.

The King being at Yorke, there came unto him William King of Scots, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility of Scotland, and confirmed the peace and finall concord which had formerly bene in the time of his imprisonment at Faleise in Normandy, before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenor whereof is to be seene in Roger Houeden.

After this, a Councell is called at Windsor, whither repaire certaine Bishops of Ireland, and the Chancelour of Rodorick King of Connaught, for whom a finall concord is concluded, upon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be paid, which was, Of every ten Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Provinces that held thereof.

Within a while after, a Councell or Parliament is assembled at Nottingham, & by advise & consent thereof, the K. caused the kingdome to be divided into six parts, and constitutes for every part three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, faithfully for themselves to observe, and cause inviolably to be observed of all his Subjects of England the Asises made at Claringdone, and renewed at Northampton, which Assises were chiefly for Murder, Theft, Robbery, and their receivers: for deceits, and burning of houses, which facts if found by the verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of water Ordeil, whereby if not acquitted, their punishment was losse of a legge, or Banishment; that Age seemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably living, than of one dead, for as yet they came not so farre as blood in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one Gilbert Plumton Knight, accused for a Rape before Ranulph de Glanville, Chiefe Iustice of England (desirous (saith Houeden) by unjust sentence to condemne him) was adjudged to be hanged on a Gybbet; whereunto, when he was brought, and in

1175.
Anno
Reg. 21.
All Vacancies
supplied by the
King.

1176.
Anno
Reg. 22

The kingdome
divided into
six parts for
Iustice.

in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, that an innocent and just person ought not so to suffer. Baldwin Bishop of Worcester, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the injury done to this miserable Creature, came forth and forbade them, from the part of Omnipotent God, and under paine of Excommunication, that they should not put him to death that day being holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalen; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commanded a stay to be made till other order were taken, being informed that for the envy which Glanville bare to this Plumton, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard he had married the daughter of Roger Gulwast an inheretrix, whom he would have had Reiner his Shrieve of Yorkeshire to have had; which act leaves a foule stain of injustice upon the memory of this Chiefe justice Glanville, in the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed, which now passeth under his name.

The charge given for businesse in these Assises consisted but of very few points besides those felonies, and was especially for taking homage, and liganie of all the Subjects of England: Demolishing of Castles; the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer. The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William King of Sicile sends and craves to have Ioan the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the universall Councell of the kingdome; granted his daughter to the king of Sicile; to whom shee was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities and Castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King.

But the great Match that was provided for Earle Iohn became frustrate by the death of Alice, daughter to the Earle of Mauriana, & he is married to the daughter of William Earle of Gloucester, by whom he was to have that Earldome. This William was sonne to Robert, brother to Maude the Empresse.

The same yeare also hee marries Elionor, another of his Daughters to Alphonso king of Castile, and takes up the controversie betweene him and his Vncle Sancho King of Navarre, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces of each others kingdome, both the Kings having referred the businesse to his arbitration.

Likewise the Marriage which should have bene betweene his sonne Richard and Alice daughter to the French King, (committed heretofore to his custody, and government) was again treated on, and urged hard by the Popes Legate to be consummated upon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall league and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to be enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both vowed an expedition to the holy Land in person, which they lived not to performe.

The King of France upon a dangerous sicknesse of his sonne Philip, vows a Visitation of the Sepulchre of Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury: And upon licence and safe conduct of the King of England, performs the same with great devotion, and rich presents: First, offering upon his Tombe a massie cup of Gold, and after, gave and confirmed by his Charter three thousand six hundred Sextaries of Wine for the Monkes, annually to be received at Poissi, at the charge of the King of France; and beside, freed them from all Tolls and Customs, for whatsoever they should buy in his kingdome.

After having stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards France, conducted

1177
Anno
Reg. 23.

William King
of Sicile mar-
ries with Ioan
the Kings
daughter.
Reg. honed.

1178
Anno
Reg. 24

A Sextary is
eight English
quarts, and 36
Sextaries is a
Modius of
Wine. Bud.

1179
Anno
Reg. 25.
1180.
Anno
Reg. 26

ducted by the King of England to Dover. The Sonne recovers health, but the Father lost his in this journey; for, comming to Saint Denis, he was taken with a palfie, and lived not long after. The weaknesse of his age and disease moved him presently to have his sonne Philip (being but fifteene yeares of age) to be crowned King in his life time, which was done at Reimes, Anno 1179.

Henry Duke of Saxony (who had married Maude daughter to King Henry) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour Frederick the third, for seven yeares, for detaining the revenues which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of Saxony; and refusing to come unto triall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driven to come (for succour with his wife and children) to his father-in-law into England. Where he remained three yeares; and upon the comming of the Archbishop of Cologne to visite the sepulchre of Thomas of Canterbury, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for Richard the Kings son, with the daughter of the Emperour Frederick (notwithstanding the contract made with Alice daughter to the King of France long before) but the last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King Henry sends his sonne John to reside in Ireland, to the end (that the Majesty of a Court, & the number of the attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and civilize that Countrey: But hee being accompanied with many Gallants young as himselfe, who scorning and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings [Limmerick, Conaht, & Corke] into open act of rebellion; *Gens enim hec, sicut & natio quavis barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorari tamen supra modum affectant*, saith Giraldus Cambrensis.

Now this faire time of peace which King Henry enjoyed, gave him leisure to seeke out all meanes to supply his Coffers, wherein he was very vigilant: And hearing of the great summes (which Roger Archbishop of Yorke, had given by his Testament to godly uses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seife the same to his owne uses, alledging, *That the Archbishop had given Indgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (unlesse before he were sick)* and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne decree. The Commissioners having found out, that Hugh Bishop of Durham had received of the Archbishop three hundred Markes of silver to be bestowed in those uses, demand the same for the King. The Bishop replies, *That having received it from the hands of the Archbishop, hee had according to his will distributed the same amongst the leproous, blinde, and lame; in repairing Churches, Bridges and Hospitalls: So that who would have it, must gather it up againe of them.* Which answer so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing upon the Castle of Duresme) he wrought this Bishop much vexation.

His meanes certaine (besides the revenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in England; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices vacant; as hee did the Bishoprick of Lincoln eighteene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in England, which was round, decayed the old, and put all the Coyners to great ranfome for corrupting the old money. And besides, to save his purse (in regard every continuall charge of Horse and Armour was heavy unto him) hee caused every mans Lands

The King sends after monies given to pious uses by Testators of the Clergy.

The vacancy of Lincoln held 19 yeares to the Kings use.

1181.
Anno
Reg. 17

and substance to bee rated for the furnishing thereof. And first began the same in his Dominions beyond the Seas, ordaining, *That whosoever had a hundred pounds Antiquin money in goods, and chattell, should finde a Horse, and all Military furniture thereunto; and whosoever had in chattell forty, thirty, or twenty pounds Antiquin money, should finde a Corset, Head-piece, Linnce and Sword; or Bow and Arrows, with a strict prohibition, That no man should sell or payne his Armour, but bee bound to leave it when he dyed to his next heire.* And this Order afterward hee established in England; by consent of the State. The King of France and the Earle of Flanders by his example did the like in their Countries.

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in respect of his entertainments, pensions, and rewards, having so wide an Estate, and so many ever in his worke, both of his owne and others, who must alwayes be fed. And besides, oftentimes hee is faine to bribe the Popes Legates in his businesse with the King of France, to have them favourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswasions, and for his owne reputation, to the holy Warre.

Anno 1182 (saith Walsingham) he releevd the necessity of the Ierosolimitans with two and forty thousand Markes of silver, and five hundred Markes of gold, which was in money seven and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shilling eight pence. And when Pope Lucius distressed by the Romans, desired an ayde out of England, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Silver; in leavying whereof, the Clergie here dealt very circumspectly; for when the Popes Nuntii came to desire the same, they advised the King; that according to his will and honour he himselfe should supply the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King should receive from them the returne of that ayde, than that the Popes Nuntii should, which might be taken for a custome to the detriment of the kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betwene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne; when againe new flames of unnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can be discovered (in the uncertaine passages of that time) we finde to be this.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Christmas kept at Caen in Normandy, with his Sonnes Henry, Richard, and Geffery, the Duke of Saxony with his wife and children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King Henry his sonne, to take the homages of his brother Richard Earle of Poitou, and Geffery Earle of Brittain. Richard refuses to doe it (but upon perswasion) being afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereupon with great indignation Richard departs from his Fathers Court in Poitou; Mans and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother follows by instigation of the Barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, who were false from Richard, and adhered to the young King (as men that understood what would become of younger brothers estates in such dominions; where the elder brothers birth-right and power, would carry all) and Geffery Earle of Brittain takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to ayde him.

Richard sends for succour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constraine them to a peace, than to make warre) came downe into Poitou, where againe his three sons after the debatement of their grievances swore to obey and serve their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselves. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete

1182.
Anno
Reg. 28

Henry 2. releevd Pope Lucius and the Ierosolimitans with great sums of gold and silver.

1183
Anno
Reg. 29
Great festivals often-times break up with great discontents.

Henry and his sonnes accorded.

Henry and his
sonnes accom-
modated.

at *Mirabel*, where *Henry* the Sonne desires, that the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine* (whom hee had sworn to defend against his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffery* Earle of *Brittaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the Sonne notwithstanding continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and Brother *Richard* to receive them into grace. And undertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffery*, is permitted by the Father to goe treat with them at *Limoges*, whither also, by another way, and with small company, it was agreed the Father should come, which hee did; but his approach was met with arrowes so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slaine, and himselfe with his sonne *Richard* forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a fatherly affection to have conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this businesse, (upon their assurance of his safety) he enters into the City: When againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the brest, had not his horse by the suddaine lifting up his head, received it in the forehead. Which act his sonnes never sought to finde out and punish, but still under-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry* the Sonne comes to the Father and protests, that unlesse the Barons would come and yeeld themselves at the Kings feete, hee would utterly renounce them: And after, having againe (upon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding (as he avowed) their obstinacie, made shew to forsake their party, and returns to his Father with great submission, delivering up unto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

But many dayes he spent not with him, when againe (either for the intended revenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection having undertaken, hee held himselfe in his honour, engaged to preserve: or by the working of some mutinous Ministers about him, whose element was not peace: hee againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses, hee suddainly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, falls prostrate at the Shrine of Saint, *Martial*, and vows presently to take upon him the crosse, and to give over all worldly businesse beside.

With which strange and suddaine passion, the Father much moved, besought his sonne with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation or religion induced him thereunto. The sonne protests, that it was meere for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And unles his Father would now give him leave (without which he could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after having used all meanes to dissuade him, and finding him still obstinate) said unto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours, for your furnishing, I will take such order as shall best fit your Estate.*

The Son (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castles of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though unwillingly) yeelds, so that, they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed content

The incons-
tancie of king
Henry the son.

His Vow.

His resolution.

His request for
the Baron of
Aquitaine.

ment to do. But upon the delivery, and receiving of these pledges, new ryots were committed, by such as could not endure the peace (which is never faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified:) and these young Princes againe take part with their confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacriledge to supply their necessities, and feede their followers. And in the end, the young King having much struggled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning fever with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him; neither got he so much by his Coronation, as to have a name in the Catalogue of the Kings of *England*.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to bee great) hindred not his revenge upon the Barons of *Aquitaine*, whom he now most eagerly persecuted, leazed on their Castles, and razed to the ground that of *Limoges*.

Geffery upon his submission, is received into grace, and the yeare after dyed at *Paris*: having (in a conflict) bene troden under horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was unfortunate, he saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who survived him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

Now the young King of *France*, *Phillip* the second (in whose fate it was, to doe more than ever his Father could effect, upon the death of *Henry* the sonne) requires the delivery of the Country of *Vexlin*, which was given in dowre with his Sister *Margaret*, but the King of *England*, (not apt to let goe any thing of what he had in possession) was content to pay yearly to the Queene Dowager, 17050. pounds *Anouin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, he saw, grew great and active, and with whom he was like to have much to doe, did homage unto him, for all he held in *France*, which he never did to the Father, being the first descent of Majesty, he ever made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had ever stood fast unto King *Lewis* the Father. But now *Phillip* the sonne otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demands the Country of *Vermendois*, as appertayning to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, upon allegation of consanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, given unto him by his Fathers choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champaigne*, *Hainault*, *Namur*, *Saint pol*, and others, warres upon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his disadvantage. After this, the Kings of *England* and *France*, meete betweene *Gisors* and *Try*, where the King of *England* sweares to deliver *Alice*, unto *Richard* his sonne. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of *Vexlin*, which *Margaret* his other Sister had before.

But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as he drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they lived together in that amity, as one bed and boord is sayd to have served them: both which so enjealoused the old King, as he called home his son, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare upon the Evangelists, to observe fealty unto him, against all persons whatsoever, which ha-

His Death.

Earle *Geffery*,
submission
and death.

1184.
Anno
Reg. 30.

Henry the second doth homage to *Phillip* king of *France*.

The Earle of *Flanders* compels the King of *France*, to compound.

1185.
Anno
Reg. 31.

The Kings of
England and
France accord-
ed, and pre-
pare for the
holy Warre.

ving done, and ready to passe over into *England*, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gave out, that he would spoyle and ransacke both *Normandy*, and the rest of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; unless he would presently deliver up his sister *Alice* unto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Try*. Where the Archbishop of *Try* (sent from the Earle to call up ayde for the holy Warre) did with that power of perswasion so urge his message, as it let out all the humour of private rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsells, their pretensions, their designs: turned them wholly to undertake in person this labourious action, and resolve to leave their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distemperatures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishings for this businesse.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all strove which should be most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse: *France* a red, and *Flanders* a greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious Letter: in the end whereof he hath these whrds, *Amongst other Princes, I and my sonne, rejecting the glory of this World, and despising all the pleasures thereof, in proper person, will, God willing, visit you shortly.*

Then to raise mony to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whosoever, as well Clerke as Lay (saving such as went the Voyage) should pay the tenth of all their revenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooveables and Chattles; as well in gold as silver. And many excellent orders were made for restraint of licentiousnesse both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the undertakers of so civill and devout an action.

The King of *England* having layd this imposition upon all his Dominions in *France*, comes over, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barons, both of the Clergy, and Laity at *Gaynington*, and by their consents imposes the same taxation upon his Subjects of *England*: *Sub Eleemosinatum vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith *Walsingham*, and presently sends forth his Officers into every Shiere, to Collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of every City in *England*, he caused a choyce to be made of the richest men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest; and caused all these, at a certaine time and place to appeare before him; of whom hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooveables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused he imprisoned till they had payd it, of which example and exaction, wee must onely hold *Pietie* guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Durresme*, with other Commissioners, to *William* King of *Scots* to collect the tenths in his Country, which he would not permit, but offered to give the King of *England* five thousand Markes of silver for those tenths, and the Castle which he claymed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the mony collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poitou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, upon

upon this occasion the Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of the *Peter* *Stellar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and used them hardly. The Earle of *Poitou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, upon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen, servants of the King of *Englands*, *Robert* and *Ralph* *Pocr*, travelling through his Country: (as Pilgrims) from *Saint* *Lamies* *de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles Country with an Army (prepared for a better act) waits it with fire & sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (upon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholonsans*) sends to the King of *England* to understand, whether his sonne *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answers, *That he neither willed nor counselled him thereunto, and that his sonne sent him word (by the Archbishop of Dublin) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of France.* Who (not satisfied with this answer) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seizes upon the Country; takes in divers Castles of the King of *Englands*, who makes himselfe ready to recover the same. And thus that great intended enterprize, undertaken with such fervour, became dashed and overthrowne, at the very time they appointed to have set forward.

All the meanes the Pope could use by his Legats, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might prevaile to reconcile these two enraged Kings, though divers interviews were procured, divers overtures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they ever depart more incensed than they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great *Elme* (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) under which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were ever used to parle, and swore, *There should be no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatned to interdict the King of *France*, unless he made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, being grounded upon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, undertaking to revenge the demerits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of England.*

This interview, wrought a worse effect than all the rest: for here the King of *England* (absolutely) refused to render *Alice* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to give her to his sonne *John*, with larger conditions, than should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes wholly Liege-man to the King of *France*, did homage unto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both joyne their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome ever saw, to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subjects, and himselfe: letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoever: he who never saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaves now the defence of *Man*, and flies away with seven hundred men (having promised the City, never to give it over, in regard his father was there buried, and himselfe borne) and afterward comes to this last Parle with the King of *France*, betweene *Turnen* and *Mars*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted just betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1187.
Anno
Reg. 33.

A meane
quarrell arises
and divers
the great pre-
paration for
the holy War,
and layes it
upon the selfe
kingdomes.

1188.
Anno
Reg. 34.
The King of
France cuts
downe the
most eminent
Elme of
Princely
Parley.

Earle *Richard*
(with the
King of
France) com-
bines against
his Father
King *Henry*.

1186.
Anno
Reg. 33.

Provision by
King *Henry* in
England.

1187.
Anno
Reg. 33.

1180.
Anno
Reg. 35

Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddenly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so amazed the King of England (as he had falne off from his Horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of England yeelds to whatsoever conditions, the King of France required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings having at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde) tenders up *A lize* for whom he had beene so much laden with scandal and turmoyle, upon condition, she should be given in marriage to his sonne *Richard* at his returne from the holy Warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the custody of any one of five whom *Richard* should nominate: grants that fealty be given unto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, covenants to pay the King of France 20000. markes of silver for damage done during these last Warres. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, and Earle *Richard*. And for more caution, hee yeelds to deliver up the Cities of Mans and Turayne, with divers Castles into their hands, &c.

His Death.

And here was an end of this businesse; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining Fortune. Some few houres before he dyed, he saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of France, and Earle *Richard* against him; and finding therein his sonne *John* to be the first, falls into a grievous passion, both cursing his sons, and the day wherein himselfe was borne: and in that distemperature departs the World, which so often himselfe had distempered; having reigned thirty five yeares, seaven moneths, and five dayes.

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His sonne *Richard* approaching the Corpes, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the usuall manner of Kings, with all royall Ornaments open faced) the blood gushed out of the nostrills of the Dead (a signe usually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after Death, retained some intelligence in the veines, to give notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an unnaturall Offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprized with horrore, is said to have burst out into extreame lamentations.

His issue:

He had issue by his Wife *Elionor*, foure sonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffery*, and *John*; besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, dyed young. Also three Daughters; *Maunder* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Elionor* the Wife of *Alfonso* the eighth of that name, King of *Castile*; *Isabel* given in marriage unto *William* King of *Sicile*. He had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in English *Long-sword*, and *Geffery* Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, who after five yeares banishment in his brother King *Johns* time dyed, Anno 1213.

Vide so. Speed.

The first sonne *William* surnamed *Longespee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his Wife: daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that Country, sonne of Earle *Patrick*) had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earle of *Wylster*; *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*; *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Isabell* Lady *Yescy*. His Sonne, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry* Lacy Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is sayd, King *Henry* had also a third naturall sonne called *Morgan* (by the Wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight;) he lived to be Provost of *Beverly*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Duresme*; and coming to

Rome

Rome for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise unapealeable) the Pope willed him to professe him selfe *Blewets* lawfull sonne; and not the Kings Naturall, promising to Consecrate him on that condition; but he (using the advice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of Blood Royall.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

RICHARD surnamed *Gaur de Lyon* (borne at *Oxford*) succeeding his Father, first seizes upon his Treasure in France, being in the hands of *Stephen Thurnham* Seneschall of *Normandy*, whom he imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the uttermost thereof. And then repaires to *Rome*, where, by *Walter* the Archbishop he is girt with the sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes fealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to *Parle* and compose this businesse with the King of France, which he did by mony; and obtayned restitution of all such peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late Warres. Besides, for his better strength, hee gives in marriage *Maunder* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffery* sonne to the Earle of *Perche*.

During this stay and settling of his affayres in France, Queene *Elionor* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which shee had endured twelve yeares) hath power to dispose of the businesse of England, which especially she employed in preparing the affections of the people by pardons, and relievement of oppressions, and then meetes her sonne at *Winchester*. Where (besides his Fathers Treasure which was 900000. pounds in gold and silver; besides Plate, Jewels and pretious stones) there fell unto him by the death of *Geffery Ridel* Bishop of *Eley* dying intestate, 3060. Markes of silver, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of September, 1189. at *Westminster*, and imbrued with the miserable slaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the City of *London*, who coming to offer their presents, as an afflicted people, in a strange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his favour, were set upon by the multitude, and many lost both their lives and substance. The example of *London* wrought the like mischief upon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, *Saint Edmondsbury*, *Lincolne*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

All this great Treasure left to this King, was not thought sufficient for this intended action of the holy Warre (which was still on foote) but that all other wayes were devised to raise more mony, and the King sells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergy and other. *Godfrey de Lucie* Bishop of *Winchester* bought two Mannors, *Weregrave* and *Mencs*. The Abbot of *Saint Edmondsbury*, the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thousand Markes of silver. The Bishop of *Duresme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity. Palatinate of his whole Province, which occasioned the King jestingly to say, what a cunning worke-man he was that could make of an old Bishop a new Earle. Besides he grants to *William* King of *Scots*, the Castles of *Barwicke*, and *Roxborough* for 10000. Marks, and releaseth him of those covenants made & confirmed by his Charter unto King *Henry* the second, as extorted from him being then his Prisoner, reserving to himselfe onely such rights, as had bin & wereto be performed, by his brother *Malcolin* to his ancestors the Kings of *England*.

L 3

More.

He began his
reigne the 6.
of July, aged
35.

1189.
Anno.
Reg. 1.

The slaughter
of the Iewes
at the corona-
tion.

Moreover pretending to have lost his Signet, made a new, and Proclamation that *Whosoever would safely enjoy, what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new*, whereby he rayled great sums of money to the grieve of his subjects. Then procures, he a power from the Pope, that whosoever himselfe pleased, to dismisse from the journey, and leave at home, should be free from taking the Crosse; and this likewise got him great Treasure, which was leavied with much expedition by reason the King of France, in November, after the Coronation, sent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commissioners to signifie to King *Richard*, how in a generall Assembly at *Paris*, he had solemnly sworne upon the Evangelists to be ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had undertaken the Crosse, presently upon *Easter* next following, thence to set forward for the holy Land. And for the assurance, and testimony thereof, he sends the Charter of this Deede unto the King of England, requiring him and his Nobility, under their hands to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in *December* (having onely stayed but foure moneths in England after his Coronation) this King departs into *Normandy*, keeps his Christmas at *Rouen*, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of France at *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing under their hands and seale, with the faith given by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and Union betwixt both Kings, for the preservation of each other and their estates, with the others concluded for their journey. Which done, the King of England sends for Queene *Eliener* his mother, his brother *John*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Eley*, *Chester*, and others, which came unto him to *Rouen*: where he commits the especial charge of this Kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Eley*, under the Title of Chiefe Iustice of England, and gives him one of his Seales, and the Custody of the Tower of *London*; and confers upon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iusticeship of the North, from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windfor* Castle, which after gave occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse. *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, and *William Brewer*, are joyned in commission with the Bishop of *Eley*.

And lest his brother *John* (whose spirit he well understood) might in England worke upon the advantage of his absence, he first caused him to take an Oath not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three yeares next following. Which after, upon better consideration, he released, leaving him to his liberty and naturall respect. But hereby having given him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could never heale it up againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspicion of his Faith, shewed him rather the way to breake, than retaine it; whensoever occasion were offered: And the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designes. For this Earle *John* had conferred upon him in England, the Earldomes of *Cornwall*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *LANCASTER*; and by the Marriage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Gloucester*, had likewise that Earldome; moreover the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarfall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Titchill*, and *Eye*; to the valew of foure thousand Markes per annum, besides the great commaunds he held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie, but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

Then

The Kings
departure out
of England to-
ward the Ho-
ly Warre.

The great
estate left to
Earle John.

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of this Vice-roy the Bishop of *Eley*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legat of all England and Scotland, and to the end his Government might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, he confines the elect Arch-Bishop of *York* (his bafe brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remaine in *Normandy* till his returning, and takes his oath to performe the same.

Having thus ordered his affaires he sends backe into England this great Bishop, furnished with as great, and absolute a power, as he could give him, to provide necessaries for his intended journey. Wherein to please the King, he offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Cilnum & populum opprimebat, confundens susquecunctis*, (saith *Hoveden*.) Hee took of every City in England two Pallies, and two other Horses of service, and of every Abbay one of each; likewise of every Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this service. And to shew what he would proove, hee took the Castle of *Windfor* from the Bishop of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Hewland*, questions his Authority, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, overtopt him.

The King takes order for a Navy to convey people and provision to the holy Land, and commits the charge thereof to the Arch-Bishop of *Auxerre*, and the Bishop of *Bayon*, *Robert de Sabut*, *Richard Camville*; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *June*, with their powers together, take their journey to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing so great, as bred many incomberments, and distempings betweene the Nations) they part companies; the King of France takes the way of *Genova* by Land, the King of England, of *Marseilles*; where, after he had stayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the coming about of his Navy witheld by tempest, he was forced to hire twenty Gallies, & ten other great vessels, to transport him into the Isle of *Sardinia*. The King of France takes shipping at *Genova*, and by tempest was driven to land, in the same Isle, and arrived there before the King of England: where, those mighty companies of both these powerfull Kings, fell foule on each other, and themselves taking part with their people enters in quarrell and rancor, so that being of equall power and stomackes, and alike emulous of honour and revenge, they began to shew what successe, their enterprise was likely to yeeld. The King of France repaying his wracked Navy, and the King of England's long staying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great pesture and disturbance of that people, themselves and their land.

William late King of *Sicile* who had married *Joan*, sister to the King of England, was dead (which made the entertaynement of the English there, the worse) and *Tancredi* bafe sonne of *Roger*, grand-father to *William*, was invested in the Kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without Issue,) and the fidelity of the people sworne to *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the sayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, sonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*; by which occasion, *Tancredi* was forced to use all meanes to hold what he had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne *Henry*. The King of England after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters Dowry the better, enters into league with *Tancredi*, against all men to preserve his estate, and gets in conclusion 200000. Ounces of Gold for his Sisters Dowry, & 10000. more, upon a match to be made betwene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, sonne to *Geffery*, his next brother (who was to succede him in the Crowne of England, if himselfe dyed without Issue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

At the opening of the Spring (both Kings having bene reconciled, and

new

Exactions by
the Vice-roy.

The Kings
quarrell in the
Isle of *Sardinia*.

The Kings
reconciled.

Berenguela affianced to King Richard.

new Articles of peace and concord signed and sworne) the King of France sets first forward to the holy Land; but the King of England stays in Sicile; untill Whitechilde after. And during his abode (which might therefore be the longer) his Mother Queene *Elionor* (who in her youth had well knowne the travaile of the East) came unto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, Daughter to the King of *Navarre*, who was there fianced unto him. Which done, Queene *Elionor* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, take their journey with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies; and was by tempest driven to the Isle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing; hee assailes the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to *Richard de Canville*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof he confirmed the ule of their owne Lawes. And here our Historicks say, he married the Lady *Berenguela*, and caused her to be Crowned Queene.

These mischiefs suffered these two famous Isles of Christendome, in the passage of those mighty Princes against Pagans, who peradventure would have as well used them for their goods, and treasure as they did; But Armies and power know no inferiour friends, it was their Fate so to lye in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Plety, would not sticke to doe any injustice.

From hence passes this famous King to the Holy Land; with the spoiles and treasure of three noble rich Islands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (besides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furnish him withall) and there consumes that huge collected masse, even as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the Nation. Here for the better understanding this businesse, it is not amisse to deliver in what sort stood the Estate of those Affayres in *Asia*, which so much troubled these mighty Princes, and drew them from the utmost bounds of *Europe*, thus to adventure themselves, and consume their Estates.

The State of Palestina.

It was now foure score and eight yeares since *Godfrey of Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine*, with his company recovered the City of *Ierusalem*, with the Country of *Palestina*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, that was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Saviour. Reigned one yeare, dyed, and left to succede him his brother *Baldwin*, who governed eightene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissention. *Fulke* Earle of *Aniou* marries this Daughter; and enjoys this Kingdome eleven yeares, and left two young sonies, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*; *Baldwin* reignes foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaves *Baldwin* his sonne to succede him; who being sicke, and despayring of issue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, sonne to the Marquesse of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his sister, his successour, and commits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Lusignan*, who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and usurped the Government, and at length the Kingdome, not without suspicion of poysoning the young King. *Raymond* making Warre upon him, *Lusignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of *Egypt* to his ayde, who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and won the City of *Ptolomide*, *Asodo*, *Berytho*, *Ascalon*, and after one moneths siege, the City of *Ierusalem*, foure score and eight yeares after it had bin conquered by *Godfrey*.

Now

Now to recover this confounded State, come these two Great King from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army composed of severall Nations, and severall humours, English, French, Italians and Germanes; against a mighty Prince of an united power, within his owne ayre, neare at home, bred and made by the sword, inured to victories, acquainted with the fights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of all the best peeces of that Country.

And here they sit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Saladin*, which had beene before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and had cost the lives of many worthy Princes, and great Personages, whose names are delivered by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, sonne of *Fredericke* the Emperour (which *Fredericke* was also drowned coming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and old *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*; *Stephen* Earle of *Sancerre*; the Earle of *Vandosme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germanie*, *Roger* and *Iselin* Earles of *Apulia*, &c. And lastly, *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*; and of our Nation, *Baldwin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*; *Ralph de Glanville* chiefe Iustice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*, *Walter de Kime*, &c. And notwithstanding all the forces of these two Kings, they held out foure moneths after, and then rendred themselves upon composition.

At their entering into the City, the Ensignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, being planted on the Walles, were with great scorn taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and those of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancor, and was after ward the occasion of much mischief to the King of *England*. Besides, during this siege, divers stings were ministred, or taken of displeasure, and malice betweene the two Kings, apt to be set on fire, by the least touches of conceite.

The King of *France* full of disdain, for the rejection of his Sister, and the marriage of the King of *England* with *Berenguela*; besides competition of honour (which their equality was subject unto) made any jor of the least disproportion thereof, a wound without cure: And daily occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke the same. The Articles of equal dividing their gaines in this voyage, concluded betweene them, is questioned. The King of *France* claimes halfe the Isle of *Cyprus*, the King of *England*, halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of *Flanders*, whereon the King of *France* had seized; and therein theyther is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy de Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, Marquis of *Monferrato*; *Guy* pleades the possession thereof, which he had by his wife *Sibilla*; the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*; the King of *France*, with *Conrade*; and with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempred, in so much, as by their owne heates and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sickness; that cost them both their haire, being more than they got by the voyage.

But being recovered, the King of *France* had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likelyhood of honour or profit; and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger; and the rather by the death of the Earle of *Flanders*, whose state lay to neere, as itooke up part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successor; and therefore craves leave of the King of *England* (for without leave of each other it was covenanted, neither of them should depart) to retorne home: which King *Richard*, was hardly wont to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him

The Kings of England and France besiege Acon.

The Kings of England and France dangerously sicke.

The King of
France departs
from the holy
Warre.

him in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.
But in the end through the earnest solicitation of the King of France, and the assurance (confirmed by Oath) not to doe any thing offensive to his Dominions in France, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leaving the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Ascalon*: writes invective letters against the King of France for leaving him: Who likewise defames King *Richard* amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the perjury of these two Kings did not adde more to their sinne, than the action they undertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more than an ill.*

Ten moneths the King of England stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valour and exceeding courage; finding ever great perversnesse in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to advance the action, where another must carry the honour; but willing alwayes to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done, and at length falls sicke, and dyes at *Acon*.

Conrade mur-
thered.

Conrade, who was so much favoured by the King of France, in his title for that Kingdome, was murthered by two *Assassins*, whereof the King of England was (but very wrongfully) taxed; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Jerusalem*, and *Guy of Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, & so both contented. During this businesse abroad in the East, the state of England suffered much at home under the government of *Longshamp*, who usurping the whole authority to himselfe, without communicating any thing eyther with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners joyned with him, did what he listed, and with that insolency carried himselfe, as he incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergy and Lay. His traine was sayd to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where he lay in any religious house but one night, three yeares revenues would scarce suffice to recover the charge. Besides, being a stranger himselfe, and using onely French men about him, made his courses the more intolerable to the English; in so much, as at length the whole Clergy, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *John* taking advantage upon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended usurpation) joynes with the state against this Bishop, being the man that had ever crossed his courses, having an especial eye unto him, as the most dangerous person of the kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safety.

1191.
Anno
Reg. 3.

Geffer, the
Elect of *Torke*
taken and im-
prisoned by
the Chan-
cellor.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes. *Geffer* the Elect Arch-Bishop of *Torke*, base sonne to *Henry* the second, to whose preferment in England, King *Richard* was averse (and therefore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence), had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to be invested in the Sea: whose comming into England being advertised to the Chancellor, *Longshamp*, he was at his landing at *Dover* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which he had recovered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall Habit trayled into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *John*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not onely to release him, but also to answer the matter, before the

assembly

assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Pauls*: where, they article, and urge against him many haynous actions committed, contrary to the Commission given him, and the Weale of the King and Kingdome.

The Archbishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshall Earle of *Striguile*, shewed openly the Kings Letters Pattents, dated at *Meffena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, he would never suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same; but by his owne violent, and head-long will, doe all himselfe; wherefore in the end he was by the Assembly deposed from his Office; and the Archbishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windson* are taken from him, and delivered to the Arch-bishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (having envy so neare him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take up that for the holy Warre: and privily seeking to escape over Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a web of Linnen cloth under his arme, taken upon the shore at *Dover*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and Conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight dayes he was by the Earle *John* released, and suffered to goe on his journey; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage, he had the advantage of his adversaries, and prevailed against them with the Pope, who took it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

Longshamp
the Chancel-
lor deposed
from his
Office.

He flies and is
taken.

The Earle *John*, the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant unto the City of *London* their Common (or liberties) and the Citizens swore fealty to King *Richard* and his heire; and that if he dyed without issue, they would receive the Earle *John* for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty unto him against all men, reserving their faith to King *Richard*.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *John* for his brothers Crowne, whilst he is beleaguering *Ascalon*, and grappling with *saladin Sultan* in the East. But having notice of this proceeding in England, and how the King of France had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexlin*, contrary to his Oath, he takes the opportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a Truce for three yeares, upon condition that he should restore *Ascalon* to the same state wherein hee found it before the siege: which he did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Army. And presently leaving Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could provide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returns from his action, with as great precipitation as he undertooke it: having consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise he could teare from his Subjects, and divers others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

Pardon us Antiquity, if we mis-censure your actions, which are ever (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and have onely their upholding by the opinion of the present: We deale with you but as posterity will with us (which ever thinks it selfe the wiser) that will judge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of England to returne in this fashion, cannot be but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pitifull an event, For having taken up by the way three Gallies to conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of silver, (disguised under the names of Pilgrims) he was by his lavish expences, discovered to be the King of England; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay any covering thereon, that could ever hide him more: though upon warning thereof, he presently

King *Richards*
departure
from *Pale-*
stina.

His discovery.

presently left all his Company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the dangers of a wilde Desert, and rocky Country, travayling day and night, passes into *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier Post than himselfe, was before him. And coming to a Village neare to *Vienna*, and reposing himselfe in a poore hostery, was taken asleepe, by means of his companion going forth to provide necessities for him, who as hee was changing mony was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and upon examination confessed where his maister was; of which prize the Duke was most joyfull, in respect of his revenge for the disgrace he did him at the entring of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the Emperour *Henry* the sixt, whom likewise he had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base sonne of *Roger*, in the usurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

Newes hereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France*, that he might likewise rejoyce at this Fortune, and he tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of France, was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heavy disafter, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of Captivity, who is sayd to have borne his Fortune with that magnanimity, and cleared himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrad* the Emperours kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as he won the affection of the Emperour, so that he professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we finde, *That King Richard deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England, and delivered the same to the Emperour as his supreme Lord, and invested him therein by the delivering up his hat,* which the Emperour returned unto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdome from him for fifty thousand pounds sterling to be payd as an annuall tribute.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *John*, prevailed so much with the Emperour, as he held him Prisoner a whole yeare, and six weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made unto him. For he, and the Earle *John* fully accounted that hee should have bene held a perpetuall prisoner, and upon that reckoning the Earle *John* did homage to the King of *France* for the Duchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine Territories, and for *England* as it is sayd; and besides resignes unto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexlin*, sweares to marry his sister *Alice*, and to be divorced from his other Wife, the Daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*. The King of *France* covenants to give him with his sister, that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earledome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoever else the Lands of his brother.

Then goes the Earle *John* over into *England*, carrying many strangers with him, and presently the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor*, are rendred unto him: then comes he to *London* and requires of the Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the Kingdome of *England*, and that fealty be made unto him, affirming his brother was dead; but they not giving credit unto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, he fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner invades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to joyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull servants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the invasion of the French

King Richard
taken prisoner.

King Richard
deposed himselfe of the
Kingdome of
England.

Earle John
doth homage
to the King of
France for
Normandy.

and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seeke to ayde the Earle *John*; and also they labour the redemption of the King, whose ransom the Emperour rates at one hundred thousand Markes, with the finding of fifty Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his service in the holy Warre for one yeare.

In *Normandy* the Officers and Servants of the King of *England*, defend with no lesse faith and courage, the right of their Master against the King of *France*, who with all his power, labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ransom. This toyle and charge is the world put into, through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy King, who, onely in respect of his Valour, (being otherwise not worth so much,) and the holy worke he undertook, (whereby he obliged the Clergy, which then managed all) got the opinion and love of his subjects, in such sort, as they strayne even beyond their ability to recover and preserve him, and so wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King *Richard* in this manner: *That he should send his Commissioners to London, and receive an hundred thousand Markes of pure silver of Cologne weight, to be sealed up and safely conducted to the bounds of the Empire; at the perill of the King of England; and other fifty thousand Markes of silver (whereof twenty thousand for the Duke of Austrich, and thirty thousand for the Emperour, to be paid at seven moneths after, and pledges to be given: threescore to the Emperour, and seven to the Duke. Besides, the King of England sweares to send his Neece, the sister of Arthur Earle of Brittain, to be married to the Duke of Austrich, &c.*

And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Chartist the sovereignty of *Provence*, *Vienna* and *Viennos*; *Marsellis*, *Narbona*, *Arles*, *Lyons*, and whatsoever he had in *Burgogne*, with the homages of the King of *Arragon*, the Earles of *Dijon*, and *Saint Giles*. In which countries were five Archbishopricks; but the Emperour could never have domination over them, nor they receive any Lord that he presented them. So that this great gife consisted but in Title; which yet pleased King *Richard*, that he might not seeme to part with all his substance for nothing. And the same wind he sends to *Hubert* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, late made his Vicegerent in *England*, to be blowne over all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote unto him: wherein he hath these words. *For that sure I am, you much desire our deliverance and greatly rejoyce therein, we will that you be partaker of our joy, and thought fit to signifie to your belovednesse, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thereof, to be upon Munday after the feast of the Nativity, and the Sunday after we shall receive the Crowne of the Kingdome of Provence, which he hath given us, whereof we send his Letters Patents unto you, and other our friends and well wilkers; and doe you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort those you know love us; and desire our promotion. Teste me ipso apud Spiram 22. Sept.*

The Emperour likewise writes to the Bishops, Earles, Barons, and other the subjects of *England*, how he purposed to advance and magnificently to honour his especial friend their King, and in this Coyne are they paid home for what they were to lay out.

King *Richard* sends after this, for his Mother Queene *Eliouer* (who is still a Travailer) and for the Archbishop of *Rouen* with many others to come unto him, about the time and businesse of his deliverance, for which, there is imposed upon every Knights Fee twenty shillings, the fourth part of all Laymens revenues, and the fourth part of all the revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their goods is enjoyned to be payd. The Chalice and Treasure of all Churches are taken to make up the sum, the like is done in all his Territories beyond the Seas,

The Empe-
rours compo-
sition with Ri-
chard.

King Richards
letters into
England.

1192.
Anno
Reg. 4.

so dearely cost the returne of this King from his Easterne Voyages.

And his Queene Berenguela had likewise her part of affliction in this journey, for she with her sister in Law the Queene Dowager of Sicilia, fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeare in travailling from Palestine, and at length were conducted unto Poitoun. The King of France hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King Richard and the Emperour, writes to the Earle Iohn, how the divill was got loose, willing him now to look to himselfe, and to vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed thus of their hopes: and thereupon the Earle Iohn leaving his Castles in England well defended; and encouraging his souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into Normandy, where he with the King of France, whilst King Richard is yet in the Emperours hands, solicites him, with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks, or else a thousand pound a moneth, so long as he held him his prisoner. But it prevailed not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King Richard (that he might see what care was taken for him) and then delivers him to his mother Elionor, receiving the pledges for observation of peace, (and the rest of the ransome unpaid) the Arch-bishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bath, with the sonnes of many principall Earles and Barons. And so in February, one yeare and six weekes after his Captivity, in the fourth yeare of his reigne he returns into England, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had excommunicated the Earle Iohn and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of Marleborow, Lancaster, and a Fortresse at St. Michels mount in Cornwall defended by Henry de Pumeroy. But his Castle of Nottingham, though strongly assailed by Ralph Earle of Chester and the Earle Ferrers, and the Castle of Tichill by the Bishop of Duresme, held out for the Earle Iohn, and found the King some worke to doe upon his returne; who presently without any stay other where, came before Nottingham Castle with all the shew of state and greatnesse he could make; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident eyther in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King ever to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolved to hold out for their maister; which put the King to much travaile, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselves, which was also upon pardon. Those of the Castle of Tichill yeelded to the Bishop of Duresme, their persons and goods saved.

The King assembles a Parliament at Nottingham, where Queene Elionor was present, and sate on his right hand. The first day of the Session, he dispossessed Girard de Canville of the Castle of Lincoln, and the Shrieftwick of that shire: from Hugh Bardolph he takes the Shrieftwick of Yorkshire, the Castles of Yorke, Scarborough, and the custody of Westmerland, and exposes them all to sale. The Archbishop of Yorke gives for the Shrieftwick of Yorkshire, three thousand markes, with one hundred markes of annuall rent.

The second day of the Session the King requires judgement upon the Earle Iohn, for having contrary to his oath of fealty, usurped his Castles, &c. & contracted confederacy with the King of France against him. And likewise judgement against Hugh de Navant Bishop of Coventry, for adhering to the Earle Iohn, and the kings enemies. And it was adjudged, they should both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the law; which if they did not, the Earle Iohn to be banished; & the Bishop to undergoe the judgement, both of the Clergy, as being a Bishop, and of Layety, being the Kings Shrieft, But the Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings favour, and his Bishopricke, for five thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was granted to the King, of every plough-land throughout England,

The King of France and Earle Iohn proffers great summes to hold King Richard prisoner.

King Richard returne into England.

1193.
Anno
Reg. 5.

A Parliament at Nottingham.

two shillings best, the King required the third part of the service of every Knights fee, for his attendance in Normandy; & all the wooll that yeare of the Marks Castle: which for that it was grievous & insupportable unto them, they shew for many.

The fourth and last day, was for the hearing of grievances and accusations, and so this assembly brake up. But here eyther to adde more Majesty after calamity, or else to nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appointed the Kings recoronation to be solemnized at Winchester, presently upon the Feast of Easter next following. Whilst the King was in these parts, William King of Scots, repaires to him, and required the dignities and honour his predecessors of right had in England, and withall, the Counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancaster. To whom the King of England first answered, that he would satisfie him by the advice of his Councell, which shortly after was assembled at Northampton; where after deliberation, he told him, that his petition ought not in reason, to be granted at that time, when almost all the Princes of France were his enemies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, than any true affection, and so put it off for that time with faire promises; yet grants he by the advice and consent of the Councell, under his Charter, to William King of Scots and his heires for ever, that when by summons they should come to the Court of the King of England, the Bishop of Duresme, and the Shrieft of Northumberland should receive them at the river of Tweed and bring them under safe conduct to the river of Teis, and there the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Shrieft of Yorkshire should receive and conduct them to the bounds of that County; and so the Bishops and Shriefes of other shieres till they came to the Court of the King of England; and from the time that the King of Scots, first entred into this Realme, he should have an hundred shillings a day allowed him of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shilling a day, and twelve Wafers, and twelve Simnels of the Kings, four quarts of the Kings best wine, and six of ordinary wine, two pound of pepper, and foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Wax, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary; and at his returne to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

From Northampton, both the Kings goe to Woodstocke, and thence to Winchester; where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnized. And there King Richard resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of Winchester, at his going to the holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of Winchester and that County, with whatsoever sales he had made else of the Demaines of the Crowne, alledging that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertaining to the same whereby his State was to subsist. The Bishop of Duresme seeing these revocations, did voluntarily deliver up the Castle of Duresme, with the country of Northumberland, which the King willed to be delivered to Hugh Bardolph. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln gave for the liberty of the Church one thousand Markes of silver, redeeming thereby the custome of giving to the King of England every yeare a cloake furred with Sabells.

Here all such who had taken part with the Earle Iohn, and defended his Castles, were summoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to theit ransome, the poorer sort let goe at liberty, but under sureties of a hundred Markes a peece, to answer in the Kings Court whensoever they should be called. The King of Scots, seeing the King of England use all meanes for mony, offers fiftie thousand Markes for Northumberland, with the appurtenances, alledging how King Henry the second gave the same to Henry his Father, and that after him, King Malcolm enjoyed it five yeares. This large offer of mony tempted King Richard so, as againe he consulted with his Councell about the matter,

Richard againe coronated at Winchester.

Resumptions.

and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the King of Scots, reserving to himselfe the Castles; but that, the King of Scots would not accept, and so with much discontent departs into Scotland: yet two yeares after this, King Richard sends Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury to *Torrey*, there to treat with the King of Scots of a marriage betweene *Orabella* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the sayd King, to have for her Dowry all *Lynox*, and he would give with his Nephew, *Northumberland*, and the Earldome of *Carlisle*, with all the Castles; but the Queene of Scots in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with childe, it took no effect.

King Richard
departs into
Normandy
with 100 ships.

From *Winchester*, King Richard departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ships, so that his stay in *England* was but from the latter end of *February* to the tenth of *May*, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his businesse of *France*, which tooke up all the rest of his Reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof he was never above eight moneths in *England*. Nor doe we finde that ever his wife *Berengere* was here, or had any Dowry or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much soever she had deserved.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in general, or any mans particular, was to the great charge and travaile of the subjects of *England*, to be dispatched in *Normandy*; and that gave we had by our large Dominions abroad. The first action that King Richard undertooke upon his coming over, was the relieving of *Kernoul* besieged by the King of *France*; and there his brother *John*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Eliouer* is reconciled unto him, and abjures the part of the King of *France*. And to make his party the stronger in those Countreyes, he first gives his sister *Joan*, Queene Dowager of *Sicily*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, being the nearest neighbour of power to his Duchy of *Guien*, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, from whom the King of *France* had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*; and on all sides steakes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at least, held this miserable turmoyle betwixt these two Kings, surprising, recovering, ruining and spoiling each others Estate, often deceiving both the world, and themselves with shew of covenants reconciliatory, which were evermore broken againe upon all advantages according to the Mystery of Warre and ambition.

King *Phillip* of *France* to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the English, marries *Botilda* the sister of *Knute* King of *Denmarke*; but this match, made for his ends, and not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding he put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had he long and great contention with the Church and the King of *Denmarke*. The Emperour sends to the King of *England* a massie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him against the King of *France*, and to invade his kingdome; but the King returnes him onely thanks, not willing to have him stirre in this businesse; in regard he suspected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be safe to him; or that the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with money, and so in the end, joyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, *England* was sure still to beare the heaviest part; and no shift is left unsought, that might any way raise meanes to the King from hence. Witnesse the Commission given to the Iustices itinerants sent into every shiere of *England*, for exactions upon pleas of the Crowne, for Escheats, Wardships, Marriages, &c. with the improvements of the

Demaines,

Demaines, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the estates of men, and especially of the Jewes, on whom the King would have none to prey but himselfe. Then the raising an imposition upon allowance of Turnements, which was for every Earle twenty markes of silver: every Baron ten, every Knight having Lands shire, and for such as had none, two markes for a Licence. The collection wherof the Archbishop of Canterbury commits to his brother *Thibault* Walter. Besides another new scale, the old being lost by the Vice-Chancellor at the taking of *Cyprus*, brings in a new exaction.

Meanes used
for money.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, Anno Reg. 9. by *Hugh* Bardolph, *Roger* Arundell, and *Geffrey* Harber, Iustices Itinerants for *Lincolneshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Darbyshire*, *Torkeshire*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* & *Lancaster*, was of a higher strain of exaction, and more profound, as having more of time, and presumption upon the peoples sufferance; of whom when once ryall was made that they would beate, were sure to have more layd on them than they were able to undeigo. And with these vexations (saith *Hoveden*) all *England* from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame poverty, and yet it ended not here: another torment is added to the confusion of the Subjects by the Iustices of the Forreits; *Hugh* Neville, chiefe Iustice, *Hugh* Wac, and *Ernise* de *Nevile*, who not onely execute those hideous Lawes introduced by the Normans, but impose others of more tyrannicall severity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserves to be utterly forgotten, having afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnesse of more regular Princes, beene asswaged and now out of use.

Besides, in the same yeare, this King imposed 5. shil. on every hide or plough land, (which contained an hundred Acres,) for the leavying whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by the Vicegerent the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the people of *England* should finde 300. Knights for one yeare to remaine in his service, or so much money, allowing for every Knight, three shil. per diem. Against which, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincolne* opposes, and sayes, that he would never yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example of posterity, that should not complaine thereof, and say: Our Fathers have eaten sowre grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edges, and turning to the Archbishop, wished him, that he would doe nothing wherof he might be ashamed.

The Archbishop so husbanded the Kings businesse, that in Anno Reg. 7. he yeelded an account unto him, that he had leaved of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares, eleven hundred thousand markes of silver which, considering that time, is a most remarkable summe. And now, as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a businesse of Treasure with *Stephen* Thrustan Seneschall of *Normandy*, so was it likewise the last and the cause of his destruction: for *Widomare*, Viscount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treasure of silver and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying claime to the whole; *Widomare* denying the same the King layes siege to his Castle where he imagined the Treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their lives, members, and armour saved; which the King would not yeeld unto, but swore that he would ransacke the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperately they resolved to stand to their defence. King Richard with *Marchard*, Generall of the *Brabancons* going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault; *Bertram* de *Gurdun*, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with such a deadly blow, as hee was presently sent to his lodging: notwithstanding commands he his forces to profe-

Vndecies centena milia Marky. Hoved.

M 3

cure

1194.
Anno
Reg. 6.

cure the assault, without intermission; which they did, and tooke the Castle putting to execution all the defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings command was reserved.

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behind, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despair of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leaving to his brother *John* three parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to his servants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram Guardian* to be brought unto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that provoked him to doe this mischief: to whom *Bertram* replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest have slain me; take what revenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoever torture thou canst inflict upon me: in respect I have slain thee, who hast done such and so great mischief to the World.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answer, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgave him his death, but commanded 100. shillings starling to be given unto him, but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and slayed.

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine monthes, wherein he exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, than all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserved than any, having neyther lived here, neither left behind him Monument of Piety, or of any other publique worke, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what he could from it. Never had Prince more given with lesse adde, and lesse noise than he: The reason whereof, as I have sayd, was his undertaking the holy Warres, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergy, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing; and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victory in *France*) were brought to beare more than ever otherwise they would have done.

Then had he such Ministers here to serve his turne as preferred his, before the service of God, and did more for him in his absence, than ever peradventure he would, or could have done for himselfe by being here present. For both to hold their places and his good opinion, they devise more shifts of rapine, than had ever beene practised before in this Kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subject; which rent and torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of Religion and Law, the maine supporters of humane society, ordayned to preserve the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent overcharging the State in these times, gave occasion to the future, to provide for themselves; excesses ever procure alteration. And the successors of this King were but little beholding unto him; for out of his and his brothers irregularity, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King would have proved, had his dayes allowed him other than this rough part of war, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made unto him, we are shewed that he was convertible. For being by him vehemently urged to be mindfull of the subversion of *Sodom*, and to abstaine from things unlawfull, thereby to avoyd the vengeance of God, he upon an insuing sicknes (a founder Counsaillor than health) remembering this advertisement, vowes a reformation of his life; and did afterward upon his recovery, every morning rise early to heare Divine service. For which *Hoveden* hath this note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end*

The Death of
King Richard.

1199.
Anno
Reg. 10.

his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and judges the ends of the earth. Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vassell, that had beene taken and sold for ransome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in France, that he had three evil daughters, and admonished to put them away, and bestow them abroad to avoyde the punishment of God. The King gave him the lie and sayd, he knew none he had: Yes Sir, replied the Priest, three daughters you have, & they are these, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Letchery. The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these three daughters, which the Priest charged him withall. The 1. which is Pride, I give unto the Templars and Hospitallers; Covetousnesse, to the Monks of Cisteraux Order; & Letchery to the Clergy: This suddaine retraction shewes us his quicknes, & what kind of men were maligned, & out of his grace.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

The Life and Reigne of King John.



JOHAN having his Brothers Army in the field, with all his Servants and Followers, entertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the advantages of time, power, and opinion, to helpe him on to his desires. *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* being upon business in those parts, and the most potent Minister he could wish, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for *England*, with *William Marshall* Earle of *Striguill*, *Geffery Fitz-Peter*, &c. to prepare the people to receive him for their King: who, especially dealing with those were most doubted would oppose him, and undertaking for him that he should restore unto them their rights, and governe the Kingdome as he ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content upon those conditions, to sweare fealty unto him against all men. These undertakers likewise, send word to *William* King of *Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that he should also have full satisfaction for what he claimed in *England*, upon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in *Arthur* the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Anjou*, *Maine*, & *Turcin*, maintaining the usuall custome of inheritance, adhered to *Arthur*, whom his mother *Constance* puts under the Protection of the King of *France*, who receives him and undertakes the defence of his right.

John having his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England*, could have no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but having received the investiture of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother *Eliouer* (who must have her part in every act of her Sons) passes over into *England*, and by way of Election receives the Crowne upon the *Ascension* day, at the hands of *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat. Par.*) before the whole assembly of the State, shewed, That by all reason, divine and humane, none ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthinesse of his vertues, universally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c. which then, seemes especially urged in respect his title of succession would not carry it. And the Archbishop afterward, upon this point, being questioned, confessed to his friends, That he foresaw this man would, (what blood and mischief soever it should cost) in the end obtaine the Crowne. And therefore the safer way was to pre-

His issue.

1199.
Anno
Reg. 1.

King Johns co-
ronation.

vent

vent confusion, that the Land should rather make him King than he make himselfe, and that this election would be sometime upon him.

So came Iohn to the Crowne of England which he governed with as great injustice as he gat it, and imbarcked the state and himselfe, in those miserable incombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the government which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an especiall agent in this preferment of her sonne Iohn, in respect of her owne greatnesse, knowing how she should be more by him, than she could be by her grand-childe Arthur, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so over-shadow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, Arthur was a child, borne and bred a stranger, and never shewed unto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not be such (in regard of the danger of the adventure, things standing at they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safety, than seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

England secured to King Iohn.

The State of England secured; King Iohn returns into Normandy upon notice given of the defection wrought in those parts by Phillip the French King, who had given the order of Knight-hood to Arthur, and taken his homage for Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Turcin and also for Normandy (in regard as he pretended that King Iohn had neglected to come, and doe him homage for the same, as members held of the Crowne of France. King Iohn, not willing upon his new and doubtfull admission to the government to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine Warre, mediates a parle with the King of France, who well understanding the time, and his owne advantages, requires so unreasonable conditions, as King Iohn could not, without great dishonour yeeld unto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of France under pretence of working for Arthur gets for himselfe; which being discovered, Arthur with his mother Constance, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister William de la Roche) to commit themselves to the protection of King Iohn, of whom likewise conceiving a suddaine jealousy, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming got secretly away and fled to Angiers. So this young Prince, borne to be crused betweene these two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gave occasion by leaving them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King Iohn buyes his peace upon these yeelding conditions: That Louys, eldest sonne to King Phillip, should marry his Neece Blanch, daughter of Alphonso king of Castile, and have with her in Dowry, the City and Country of Eureux, with sundry Castles in Normandy, and 30000. Markes in silver. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leave unto him all his territories in France. And that he would not ayde his Nephew Otho, (lately elected Emperour) against Phillip brother to the late Emperour Henry the sixth, whom the King of France favoured, in opposition of Pope Innocent, who tooke the part of Otho.

After this peace made, Otho taking it unkindly to be thus forsaken of his Vncle Iohn, sends his two brothers, Henry Duke of Saxony, and William Winton (so titled, for having beene borne at Winchester) to require the City of Eureux and the County of Poitou, and two parts of the Treasure which his Vncle King Richard had bequeathed unto him, besides other moveables; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferiour nature to the present interests of State. To this unkind and

unnaturall

unnaturall act he presently addes another: Repudiates his Wife (daughter to the Earle of Glocester, alledging consanguinity in the third degree) and marries Isabell daughter and inheritor to the Earle of Angouleme fianced before to Hugh le Brun, Earle of March (a Peere of great estate and alliance in France) by consent of King Richard, in whose custody she then was. And having finished these distastefull businesses, he returns to give as little contentment into England, where he imposes three shillings upon every Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30000. Markes he was to give with his Neece Blanch, the collection whereof Geffery Archbishop of Yorke opposes within his Province. For which, and for refusing, upon summons to come unto this late Treaty in France, the King causes his Shrieve James Potern, to seaze upon all his temporalities. The Archbishop interdicts the whole province of Yorke, and excommunicates the Shrieve. King Iohn shortly after makes a Progress with his wife Queen Isabell, over all the North parts unto Scotland, and exacts great fines of offenders in his Forrests. In his passing thorough Yorkshire, his brother the Archbishop, refused him wine, and the honour of the bells at Beverley, but by the mediatio of foure Bishops, and foure Barons, and a great sum of money, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on either part. Vpon Easter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at Canterbury, and with him Isabell his Queene by the Archbishop Hubert. And there are the Earles and Barons of England, summoned to be ready with horse and armour to passe the Seas with him presently upon Whitsontide; but they holding a conference together at Decester, by a generall consent send him word, That unless he would render them their rights and liberties, they would not attend him out of the Kingdome. The King, saith Howden, using ill counsell, required of them their Castles, and begins with William de Aubery, demanded to have his Castle of Beaumont; William delivers his sonne in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, having taken order for the government, he passes over with his Queene into Normandy, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the revolvers to forbear their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong covenants, and cautious as could be devised, is made of the agreements with King Phillip of France, who Feasts the King of England and his Queene at Paris, with all complements of amity.

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects revenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succour the holy Land. For the leavying whereof in England, Geffery Fitz Peter chiefe Iusticiar sends out his Writs by way of request and perswasion, and not as of due or coercion, to avoyd example.

But many moneths passed not, ere a new Conspiracie brake out by the instigation of Hugh le Brun, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with Arthur, the Barons of Poitou & Brittain, & raised a strong side, which the King of France (notwithstanding all those ties wherein he stood ingaged to the King of England) betakes himselfe unto, in regard of his owne interests and advantages, from which no bands could with-hold him; and againe both these Kings are in Armes. The King of France declares himselfe for Arthur, to whom hee marries his youngest daughter: requires King Iohn to deliver up unto him all his territories in France, and by a peremptory day summons him to appeare personally at Paris to answer what should be layd to his charge, and abide the Arrest of his Court, which King Iohn refusing, was by sentence adjudged to lose all he held of that Crowne.

Then

King Iohn puts away his Wife.

1201.

Anno

Reg. 3.

An imposition of three shillings upon every Plough-land;

His second coronation.

1201.

Anno

Reg. 4.

1200.

Anno

Reg. 2.

Prince Arthur and his mother flee to Angiers.

He takes his
Nephew Ar-
thur prisoner.

Arthur murdered.

1203.
Anno
Reg. 5.

King John
fines the Ba-
rons.

1205.
Anno
Reg. 7.
A Parliament
at Oxford.

1206.
Anno
Reg. 8.

Then is he assailed on one side by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other by *Arthur*, and the Barons of *Aniou*, who lay siege to *Mirebel*, defended by *Elionor* the *Queene* mother, and were upon the point of taking it; when King *John*, with greater expedition and force than was expected, came and defeated the whole Army in the assaylants, tooke Prisoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poitou*, and above 200. Knights, and men of command, all which he carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into divers Castles both of *Normandy* and *England*.

This victory, which might seeme enough to have established his estate, undid him; for by the ill using thereof he lost himselfe, and his reputation for ever. *Arthur* is shortly after murdered in prison, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his Prisoners and Ostages, so exasperates the Nobility of *Brittaine*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, as they all take Armes against him, and summoned he is to answer in the Court of Iustice, of the King of *France*, to whom they appeale: which, he refusing, is condemned both to lose the Dutchy of *Normandy* (which his Ancestors had held by the space of 300. yeares) and all his other Provinces in *France*, whereof the next yeare after, either through his negligence, being (as they write) given over to the pleasures of his young wife, or by the revolt of his own Ministers (inceased likewise against him) he became wholly dispossessed.

And in this disastrous estate, he returns into England, and charges the Earles and Barrons, with the reproch of his losses in France, and fines them to pay the seventh part of all their goods for refusing him ayde. Neyther spared he the Church, or the commons in this imposition, *Of which rapine* (saith *Mat. Par.*) *were executors, Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury for the Clergy, and Geffrey Fitz Peter, Justiciar of England for the Laity.* But all this treasure collected, amounted not to answer his want, or the furnishing of fresh supplies for the recovery of his losses (for which he urges the same to be rayfed) and therefore againe in lesse than the space of a yeare, another leavy (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is convoked at *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a halfe of every Knights fee for military ayde: neither departed the Clergy from thence, till they had likewise promised their part. No sooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-devouring Gulphe of *France* to issue it, through a revolt begun in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Constance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Saveri de Malcon*, and *Almeric Lusignian*, Confederates with many others; who receiving not that satisfaction, expected from their new Master, call in their old againe, to shew us, that mens private interests, howsoever Honour and Justice are pretended, onely sway their affections, in such actions as these.

And overhastes King *John*, and by the power he brought, and what he found there, wonne the strong Castle of *Mont Alban*, and after the City of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to have recovered more, but that the King of *France*, by the fortune of one day, (wherein he overthrew and tooke prisoners the chiefe confederates *Guido*, *Almeric*, and *Saveri*) forced him to take truce for two years, and returne into *England* for more supplies.

And here another imposition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layety : who now seeing their substances thus consumed without succes, & likely ever to be made lyable to the Kings desperate courses, begin to cast for the recovery of their ancient immunities, which upon their former sufferance had beene usurped by their late Kings, and to ease themselves of these burthens indiretly layde upon them. And the first man that opposed the collection of this imposition, was againe the

the Archbishop of Yorke, who solemnly accursed the receivers thereof with-
in his Province, and secretly conveyed himselfe out of the Kingdome, desi-
rous rather to live as an exile abroad, than to endure the misery of oppression
at home: *men accounting themselves lesse injuriously rised in a W^orr, than in
a place where they presume of safety.*

And hence grew the beginning of a miserable breach, betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and dis-joynted in those iust Ligaments of Commaund and obedience that should hold them together, the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble blood; than all the warres forraigne had done since the Conquest. For this contention ceased not (though it often had some faire intermissions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt soveraignty, and subjection (first obtained of King *Iohn*, after, of his sonne *Henry* the third (though observed truly of neyther) was in the maturity of a iudiciall Prince, *Edward* the first, freely ratified Anno Reg. 27. which was above foure score years. And was the first civill dissention that ever we finde, since the establishing of the English Kingdome, betweene his King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, wee are to take a view of the face of thof time; the better to judge of the occasions given and taken of these turbulencies.

It was this time, about 130. yeares since *William* the first had heere planted the *Norman* Nobility, whose issue being now become meere English, were growne to be of great numbers, of great meanes, and great spirits, ever exercised in the Warres of *France*, where most of them were commanders of Castles, or owners of other Estates, besides what they held in *England*; and being by this violent and unsuccessfull King shut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practise to preserve what was left, and to make themselves as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priviledges of the Kingdom (necessity now driving them to look into it) they more boldly presume to attempt, in regard they saw themselves, and the Kingdome brought to be perpetually harraied at the Kings will, and that violence and corruption hath no faculty to prescribe upon them: wherein their cause was much better than their prosecution. For whilst they strive to recover what they had lost, and the King to keepe what he by advantage of time and sufferance had gotten, many unjust and insolent courses are used on eyther side, which leave their staine to posterity, and make foule the memory of those times. We can excuse no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diseased head first made a disordered body, which being not to be recovered apart, rendred the sicknesse so long and tedious as it was. Besides, the strange corruption of the season concurred, to add to this mischief; an ambitious Clergy polluted with avarice, brought Piety in shew to be a presumptive party herein, and takes advantages upon the weaknesse they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occasion of their interposition in this businesse began about the election of a new Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monks of that *Covent* had made secretly in the night, of one *Riginald* their Subprior; to prevent the King whom they would not, should have a hand in the busines, which they pretended to appertaine freely to themselves by their ancient priviledges. And this *Riginald* (thus elected) they instantly dispatch towards *Rome*, taking his oath of secesie before hand. But the fulnesse of his joy burst open that locke, and out comes the report of his advancement, upon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow.

The cause of
the breach be-
twene the
King and his
people.

1207.
Anno
Reg. 9.

*Regina's first
chosen Arch-
bishop by the
Monks.*

send

send to the King to crave leave to elect a fit man for that Sea. The King nominates unto them *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he especially favoured, & perswaded them (upon great promises of their good) to preferre the Kings desire is propounded to the Covent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* advanced to the Chayre.

Wherein their last error (saith Mat. Par.) was worse than their first, and began that discord, which after proved an irreparable damage to the Kingdome.

The King sends to *Rome* certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Helias de Brandfield*, a most trusty servant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaints to the Pope against the Monkes, for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by right and custome they ought: Alledging examples of three Archbishops so elected. The Monkes oppose this allegation, offering to bring prooffe that they onely, by the speciall privilege of the Roman Bishops, were accustomed to make this election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day, for deciding this Controversie; wherein the first election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: The last was urged by some of the Monkes, to be ill, by reason there was no cassation of the first, which just or unjust, ought to have beene, before any other election, could juridically be made.

Innocent the fourth.

The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree upon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adjudged both elections voyd, and presents unto them a third man, which was *Stephen de Landton*, a Cardinall of great spirit, and an English man borne, who had all the voyces of those Monkes which were there, through the perswasion of the Pope; alledging it was in their power by his prerogative to make good this choyce.

Stephen Landton thus elected, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismissed the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with Letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, benignly to receive this Archbishop Canonically elected, native of this Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor of Theology; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conversation: a man fit, both for his body and his soule, &c. Withall he writes to the Prior, and Monkes of *Canterbury*, charging them by the vertue of holy obedience to receive the Archbishop to their Pastor, and humbly to obey him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.

These letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, so enraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Fulke de Cantie*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to seaze upon all they had; which presently was as violently executed as commaunded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flanders* (except such as were sicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

Herewithall he writes a sharpe letter to the Pope, accusing him of the wrong he did in casting the election of *Norwich*, whom he speciall favoured, and advancing *Stephen Landton*, a man unknown to him, bred ever in the kingdome of France and among his enemies; and what was more to his prejudice, and subversion of the liberties appertaining to his crown, without his consent (given to the Monkes) which should first have bin required, he had presumed rashly to prefer him: so that he much marvelled that the Pope and the universall Court of *Rome*, would not call to minde how necessary his friendship had hitherto bin to that Sea; & consider that the kingdome of England yielded the same greater profit, and commoditie, than all the king-

King *Iohn* of- fended with this election, writes to the Pope.

domes else on this side the Alpes. Besides, that he would stand for the liberty of his Crowne to the death: constantly affirming, that he could not be revoked from the Election and preferment of the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he knew every way fit for the place. And in conclusion threatens, That if hee be not righted in the premises, hee would stop up the passages of his people to *Rome*; and that if necessity required, he had in the Kingdome of England, and other his Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other relatives of so sufficient learning, as they needed not to begge justice, and judgement of strangers. The Pope returns answer to the Kings Letter, and begins with these words, When about the businesse of the Church of *Canterbury*, wee wrote unto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignly, you againe wrote back to us, (as I say, by your leave) in a fashion threatening, reproving, contumacious, and very stubbornly; and whilest wee tooke care to give you above your right, you regard not to give us according to our right, respecting us lesse than becomes you. And if your devotion be most necessary for us, so is ours no lesse fit for you. When wee, in such a case have honoured no Prince so much as you, you stick not to derogate from our honour, more than any Prince in such a case would have done: pretending certaine frivolous occasions, wherein you alleadge that you cannot consent to the election of our beloved son *Mr. Stephen* Presbyter by the title of *Saint Chrysogonus* Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of *Canterbury*; for that hee hath beene bred amongst your enemies, and his person is altogether unknowne to you. Then argues he, That it was not to be imputed unto him for a fault, but was his glory to have lived long at *Paris*, where he so profited in studie, as he deserved to be Doctor, not only in the liberal Sciences, but also in Theologic; & his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in *Paris*. Wherefore hee held it a marveile if a man of so great note, native of England, could be unknown unto him, at least in fame, since (saith he) you wrote thrice unto him after hee was by us preferred to be Cardinall, that though you had a desire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you rejoiced that he was exalted to a higher Office, &c.

Then excuses he the poynt, that the Kings consent was not required, in regard that they who should have required the same, affirmed how their letters never came to his hands, &c. Although (saith he) in elections celebrated at the Apostolick See, the consent of Princes is not to be expected, yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your consent, who were stayed at *Dover*, so that they could not performe their message injoynd them: with other allegations to this effect, so that at length (saith hee) we were disposed to doe what the Canonall Sanctions ordained to be done, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, that there might bee no delay or difficulty in right intentions, lest the Lords flocke should bee long without pastorall cure; and therefore revoked it cannot bee. In conclusion hee useth these words, As wee have had care of your Honour beyond right, endeavour to give us ours according unto right, that you may more plentifully deserve Gods grace, and ours, lest if you doe otherwise, you cast your selfe into those difficulties, whence you cannot easily get out: Since hee in the end must overcome, to whom all knees bow in Heaven, Earth and Hell; whose Vicegerencie heere below (though unworthy) wee exercise. Yeeld not therefore to their counsels, who desire your disturbance, that themselves might fish in troubled waters; but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which will redound to your Praise, Glorie, and Honour. Neither is it safe for you to repugne against God and the Church, for which, the blessed Martyr and glorious Bishop *Thomas* lately shedde his blood, especially since your Father and Brother of cleere memory, late Kings of England, have in the hands of the Legates of the Apostolick See, abjured that

impious

impious Custome. We, if you acquite your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no prejudice shall arise unto you hereby. Dated at Lateran the 10 yeare of our Pontificat.

The Popes
Mandate to
the Bishops

Thus we see how these two mighty powers strive to make good each others prerogative, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope understood how the King of England had proceeded against the Church of Canterbury, he sends presently his mandate to the Bishops of London, Eley, and Worcester, to deale with the King by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole kingdome of England. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a severe hand upon him; and withall charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, by vertue of their obedience, to receive for Father the Archbishop Stephen, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enjoyned, repaire to the King, shew the Popes Mandate, and with teares besought him, *As he had God before his eyes, to call home the Archbishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury to their Church, and vouchsafe to use them with honour and charitie, thereby to avoide the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

King Iohns
answer to the
Bishops.

The King interrupting the Bishops spech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other should dare to put the kingdome under interdiction, hee would presently send all the Clergy of England to the Pope, and confiscate their goods. Besides, If any of Rome were found within any part of his Land, hee would cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreover the Bishops presently to avoide his presence, *as they would avoide their owne danger.*

1208.
Anno
Reg. 11.

Of this their ill satisfaction, the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole kingdome of England is interdicted: all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments cease, except Confession, Extreame Vnction, and Baptisme of Children. The dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of London, Eley, Worcester, Bath, and Hereford secretly get out of the kingdome.

To answer this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Sherifes and other his Ministers, to command all Prelates and their servants, forthwith to depart out of the kingdome; deutes the Bishopricks, Abbeyes, & Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their revenues; but the Prelates themselves get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expelled by force: which the officers would not doe, having no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the Kings use.

Here the Monasticall Writers of that time (by whom onely we have notice of these proceedings) aggravate the rigorous course taken in this busines, telling us, that religious men of what order soever, found travailling, were pulled from their horses, robbed, and vily treated by the Kings servants, and none to doe them justice. And how the servants of a Sherife bringing bound unto the King a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the King said, *Loose him and let him goe, hee hath killed our enemy.* But howsoever this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so untied as this was.

The King
takes pledges
of his Nobles
for their fide-
lity.

The King to prevent the defection of his Subjects, which he daily doubted would follow upon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelity. wherein many of them satisfied the kings will, sending some

some

some their sonnnes, some their nephewes, other the necest of their kinnte. *William de Brause* a Noble-man being required to deliver his pledge, his wife preventing her husbands answer, tels the Commissioners, *That the King should have none of her sons to keepe, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers son, Arthur;* for which suddaine & intemperate speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the Kings servants, told them, he was ready if he had offended, to satisfie the King, without any pledge, according to the judgment of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time or place wheresoever.

Vpon the report of this answer, the King sends downe privily to apprehend the Baron, but he having notice, or doubting what would follow, fled with his wife and children into Ireland; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recover mercy of the King, is said, to have sent Queene Isabel foure hundred Kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end shee was there taken with her two sonnnes (the husband escaping into France) and sent prisoner to the Castle of Windsor, where shee with her two innocent children were famished to death; so deerly paid shee for the offence of her rash tongue.

His cruelty
shewed to the
wife and chil-
dren of *Wili-
am de Brause*.

The King displeased with the Londoners, removed his Exchequer to Northampton, and with a great Army marches towards Scotland, to make warre upon that King for receiving his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the King of Scots should pay eleven thousand Markes of silver, and deliver up his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning back, he caused all inclosures within his Forrests to be laid open, a worke of great griefe to his subjects; whom, though in nothing he sought to satisfie, yet seekes he what he may to fasten them in their obedience (whereof love and not rigour is the surest bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea even of children of twelve yeares of age, throughout the kingdome.

The Exche-
quer removed
to Northamp-
ton.

Two yeares, to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the King, procedes to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of abscission, which his predecessor *Alexander*, better advised, forbore to take, upon a suggestion of a more heynous act committed by *Henry* the second, upon the person of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quail the heart of a most unmafeable King, put him into more desperate rage with the Clergy, who notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durst not execute the same for many dayes after. And first one *Geffery* Archdeacon of *Normich*, serving in the Kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his Assistants about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King; and so without leave retired himselfe home, & was the first subject of his Masters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in fetters in a most streight prison, and afterward, upon the Kings commandement, he was put into a sheete of Lead, wherein, with the weight and want of victualls he soone perished.

King Iohn ex-
communicated.

This Excommunication of the King of England, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to be stains of an unjust nature, especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predominance beyond the bounds allowed unto priory, which was, only to deale with mens soules, and not their estates. For in the advancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especial hand, opposing; for his owne ends the election of *Philip* sonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*. And in the vacancie of the Empire had seized

The Archdea-
con of *Nor-
wich* forsakes
the Kings ser-
vice, his tor-
ture & death.

The Emperour
Otho excom-
municated.

upon certaine peeces in *Italy* appertaining thereunto; which, *Orto* seeking to revoke, procured undeservedly the Popes displeasure, who sent unto him divers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recovery, as also from that which *Fredersok* King of *Sicile* (who was under the tuition of the Apostolick See) had seized upon.

The Emperour is said to have answered the Popes Nuncii in this manner: *If the Pope unjustly desires to usurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolve me from the oath he caused me to take at my coronation; which was, That I should revoke whatsoever rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperour not yeelding unto the other, the sentence of Excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germany* as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolved of their fealty unto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian world, left to the mercie of their subjects; who, though they were by this meanes all untied from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme unto their Sovereignes. For there are so many ligaments in a State that tie it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolve them altogether, unlesse it be by an universall concurrence of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome scene of what temper soever Kings are, but they find an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this King (the first of *England*, we find put to this straight, had yet many noble members of power, besides the chief Officers of the kingdom (whom their places confirm) that stuck unto him, whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

And the better to hold his reputation, & his people in action, having now no employment abroad, he seekes to secure all other members of the Crown of *England*, which were under his dominion. And having ransackt great Treasure from the *Iewes*, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, upon intelligence of some revolt and disorder there. And at his first arrivall, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty unto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses of the kingdom, kept themselves away, and refused to come. Here to reduce the Countrey into better order, he ordaines the same to be governed by the Lawes and Customes of *England*, causes *English* money to be coyned there; and to be of equall value with that of this kingdom, and currant alike in both: with many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were advisedly begun, would (as wise men deem) have settled that kingdom in an intire obedience, and saved all that great toyle and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now having deputed *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Normich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, he returns into *England*, where presuming now upon his new gathered strength, he summons all the Prelats of the kingdom to appeare before him at *London*; of whom, saith *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterling.

And the next yeare, being the twelfth of his reigne, with this Treasure hee reduces *Wales* (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twenty children of the best families for pledges of their future subjection. Returning thence, exacts of every Knight that attended not his Army in that expedition, two Markes; and at *Northampton* is pleased to receive the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (sent to make peace betweene the kingdom and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his kingdom, he consented that the Archbishop and the Monkes

1210.

Anno

Reg. 12

King Iohn re-
forms IrelandThe Clergy
pay to the king
100000 l. ster.

1211.

Anno

Reg. 13.

Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart unsatisfied, to the greater prejudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding, to bee yeelding in any thing, falls to be more imperious to constrain him to all whatsoever hee desired: And absolves all the Kings subjects of what condition soever from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, under paine of excommunication, his Boord, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding prevailed not to divert the Subjects from the service of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, upon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales*, that made pillage upon the Borders, to raise another Army to invade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before hee would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Weich*, to be all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dined, Letters came that gave him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne destruction; and that if he went forward in this Warre, hee would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returns to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected, and here *Eustace de Vesey*, & *Robert Fitz Walter* are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

But now the Pope, for the last and greatest sentence that ever yet was given against any Sovereigne King of this kingdom, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall government thereof; and writes to the King of *France*, that as he looked to have remission of his sins, he should take the charge upon him, and expell King Iohn out of the kingdom of *England*, and possesse the same for him, and his heires for ever. To the same effect sends hee likewise his Letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, That they should aide the King of *France* in the defection of this contumacious King of *England*, in revenge of the injuries done to the *Univerfall Church*; granting like remission of their finnes, as if they undertooke the holy Warre.

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other exiled Bishops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King Iohn, than any way to advance the King of *France*, whom the Pope desired not to make greater than he was: howsoever, to amuse the world, he made shew to ingage him in this businesse. For he gave a secret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, that if upon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of *France* for this defection, he could worke the King of *England* to such conditions as he should propound, absolution and restorement should be granted unto him.

The King of *France*, upon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions, to assemble their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition, to assist him in this businesse, and be ready, under paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeare: preparing likewise a great Navy for the transportation of these forces into *England*. King Iohn, upon intelligence hereof, sends to all the ports of his kingdom commandement, to have all shipping whatsoever possible to be made ready with all expedition: Summoning likewise all Barles, Barons, Knights, and who else could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at *Dover* presently upon Easter, furnished with Horse, Armour, and all militarie provision to defend him, themselves, and the kingdom of *England* against this intended Invasion, under paine of Culvertagge, and perpetuall servitude.

N 3

Where-

1212.

Anno
Reg. 14.

1213.

Anno
Reg. 15.The Pope
gives the king-
dome of Eng-
land to the
King of FranceThe King of
France assem-
bles his forces
for England.King Iohns pre-
parations for
defence.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to *Dover, Faversham, Ipswich*, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and provision to entertaine them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of unnecessary men, and onely a choise reserved of the abler sort, which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appointed for battell. Besides, so mighty a Navy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared, King *Iohn* expects his enemies, who secretly two Knights, Templars, sent by *Pandolphus*, so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, hee descends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is presently advertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the *French Kings Army*, comes over, and so terrifies King *Iohn*, with the mighty forces bent against him, & the eminent danger wherein he stood, as hee yeelds to any conditions whatsoever propounded unto him. And not onely grants restitution and satisfaction of what ever had been taken from the Archbishop, and the Monkes of *Canterbury*; the Bishops of *London, Ely, Bath, and Lincoln*; (who were fled to the Archbishop) but also layes down his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, the ensignes of his Royalty, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, delivering up therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and submits himselfe to the judgement and mercy of the Church.

Two dayes (some write fixe) it was before the Legate restored him his Crowne: at the receiving whereof, he swore (and his Earles undertaking for him) that hee and his successours should hold the Kingdome of *England*, and Lordship of *Ireland*, from the Sea of *Rome*, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of Silver. And this, with his homage and fealty, hee confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars, neere *Dover*. The especiall weighe that moved King *Iohn* to this extreame lownesse, they of those times note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, having lived five yeares excommunicated, to the great deformity of his kingdome. Secondly, the greatnesse of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Ascension* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter* a Hermit and Southsayer had prophesied, hee should bee no more King of *England*. Which, though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his sonne, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted divination.

Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergie; of which, eight thousand Markes of silver was presently delivered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiving thereof, tramples it under his feete, as contemning that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred upon the Transgressor; and returns with the same into *France*. Where he declares what had passed in *England*, and forbids the King of *France* upon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King *Iohn* had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.

The King of *France*, now all in readinesse for this great invasion, and full with hope of Victory, receiving this suddain and unexpected message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diverted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extremely discontent, hee gives it over.

. Not-

King Iohn delivers up the kingdome of England with his Crowne to Pandolphus.

The causes that moved King Iohn to this act.

Pandolphus forbids the French Kings proceeding.

Notwithstanding, for his owne reputation and desire of revenge, having all these great forces on foote, and his Navy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would undertake something to give satisfaction both to the Adventurers, and his owne people interested in this action. And for that, *Ferrand Earle of Flanders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his Port of *Dam*, vowing that *Flanders should either be France or France Flanders*. *Ferrand*, seeing this tempest come to light upon him, sends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, having escaped at home the occasion of a defensive Warre, to enter into an offensive abroad, both to employ this great collected Navy of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismissal without some satisfaction, hee knew would breed no safe humour, dispatches five hundred Sayle, with seven hundred Knights into *Flanders*, under the conduct of his base brother *William Long-sword Earle of Salisbury*, *Reginald Earle of Bologn*, whom hee had lately entertained with a pension, being for some demerit driven out of *France*. And these arriving at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the French Navy unorderedly dispersed, and without defence (their forces going out to invade the Countrey) set upon, and utterly defeated the same, and afterward joyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, drave the King of *France* home with great dishonour, and exceeding losse.

King *Iohn* raised with this victory, and his peace with the Church, sets upon great designs, taking opportunity of this disaster of the King of *France*, whom, in revenge of his injury, and hope of recovering his transmarine Dominions, he plots to assaile on all sides: stirring up his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an invasion upon the East part, whilst himselfe with all his power should enter upon the West. For execution whereof, first hee sends supplies for treasure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then assembles a great Army at *Portsmouth*, wherewith hee resolves to passe the Seas.

But his designe contrary to his desire and haste, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refused to ayde or attend him, untill hee were absolved, and had confirmed unto them their liberties: wherewith much enraged, seeing no other remedy, hee speedily sends for the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops which were yet in *France*, promising them present restitution and satisfaction, under the hands and seales of foure and twenty Earles and Barons, undertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Bishop and the rest of the exiled Clergie, forthwith come over, and finde the King at *Winchester*, where he goeth forth to meete them, and on his knees with teares receives them, beseeching them to have compassion on him, and the Kingdome of *England*. Absolved he is with great penitence and compassion exprest with teares of all the beholders, and swears upon the Evangelists, to love, defend, and maintaine holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their adversaries to the uttermost of his power: That he would renew the good Lawes of his Predecessors, and especially those of King *Edward*, abrogating such as were unjust: Iudge all his subjects according to the just judgement of his Court: That presently upon Easter next following hee would make plenary satisfaction of whatsoever had beene taken from the Church.

Which done, hee returns to *Portsmouth*, with intention to passe over into *France*, committing the government of the kingdome to *Geffery Fitz Peter*, & the Bishop of *Winchester*, with charge that they should order all busineses, together with the counsell of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

N 4

And

The French King sets upon Flanders.

The Nobility refused to ayde King Iohn.

1214.
Anno.
Reg. 16

And here a numerous company of souldiers repairing to him, complained that by their long attendance their money was spent, so that they could not follow him, unless they might be supplied out of his Exchequer: Which the King refusing to doe, in a great rage, with his private family, takes ship, and puts forth to the Isle of Jersey; but seeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (having lost the opportunity of the season) to returne into England; where he gathers an Army, with intention to chastise the Lords who had thus forsaken him. But the Archbishop of Canterbury followes him to Northampton, *Urging, that it was against his Oath taken at his absolution, to proceede in that manner against any man, without the judgement of his Court.* To whom the King in great passion replied, *That he would not deferre the businesse of the kingdome for his pleasures; seeing Lay judgement appertained not unto him;* and so in fury marches to Nottingham.

The Archbishop followes him, and plainly told him, *That unless hee would desist from this businesse, he would excommunicate all such as should take Armes against any before the releasing of the interdiction; and would not leave him, untill he had obtained a convenient day for the Lords to come to his Court,* which shortly after they did, and a Parliament is assembled in Paules, where in the Archbishop of Canterbury produces a Charter of King Henry the first, whereby he granted the ancient liberties of the kingdome of England (which had by his predecessours beene oppressed with unjust exactions) according to the Lawes of King Edward, with those emendations which his Father, by the counsell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter being read before the Barons they much rejoiced, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, *that for these liberties they would if need required, spend their blood.* And therewithall, concluding a confederation with the Archbishop, the Parliament brake up.

Shortly after dyes *Geffery Fitz Peter*, Iusticiar of England, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the Lawes, and skilfull in government. Who in that broken time, only held uncraled, performing the part of an even Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and kingdome; whom though the King most used, he most feared and least loved, as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose gravity and judgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, rejoicing said, Now when he comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall finde there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the feete of God, that now at length he was King and Lord of England,* having a freer power to untye himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, unto which he repented to have ever condescended. And to shew the desperate malice of this King (who, rather than not to have an absolute domination over his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Embassage (the most base and impious that ever yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) unto *Miramumalim* the Moore, intituled the great King of *Africa*, *Morocco*, and *Spain*, wherein he offered to render unto him his kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his Sovereigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian Faith (which he held vaine) and receive that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz Nicholas* knights, and *Robert of London* Clerke. The manner of their access to this great King is related, with the delivery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charter to that effect; and how *Miramumalim* ha-

ving

The Archbishop threatens to excommunicate the King.

This Charter is recorded in Mat. Par. with testes of the Subscribers.

Legem Regis Edwardi vobis reddo cum his emendationibus quas Pater meus ea emendavit.

Mat. Par.

ving heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and kingdome, with the nature and disposition of the people, so much distained the baseness and impiety of the offerer, as with scorn hee commanded his Ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterwards, to understand some more particulars of the madnesse of this King of England, he called for *Robert* the Clerke, & had private conference with him apart, about many particulars which he himselfe revealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew* the Monke of *Saint Albans*, who wrote and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, black, one arme shorter than another, two fingers unnaturally growing together, of a visage like a Jew, &c. which relation we are not utterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that gravity and credit, and living so neere those times, though to us that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some parts; yet if we consider whereto the desperate violence of this King (who had made utter wrack of conscience, and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likelihood to have had this dealing with an Heathen King (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that ever the Moores had in *Spain*) which might either bee to hold amity with him, or entertaine him otherwise for his own ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, wee may in charity forbear to make it a part of ours. Although this Relator gives us a note (amongst other which he suppress) that pointed at the irreligion of this King, who at the opening of a fat Stagge, jeaustingly said, See how prosperously this beast hath lived, and yet never heard Masse. Which scoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, favoured of an impiety unfitting the mouth of a religious King, and gave scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoever comes from the mouth of Princes; which may waine them to be wary what they utter in publick.

But this Embassage, either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the overthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed; King *Iohn* sets upon another course, assayles Pope *Innocent* (prone to be wrought by gift to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subjection, which shortly after he confirms by a new oath, and a new Charter before the Popes Legate the Bishop of *Tusculum*, sent over for the same purpose, and with full authority to compose the dissensions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in divers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King upon account already, had payed twenty seven thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were undertaken by sureties, to be answered by a certaine day.

And hereupon is the interdiction released, having continued six yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church and Church-men, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repaire to the Legate for satisfaction of damages received by the Kings Ministers during this interdiction. To whom the Legate answers: That it was not in his Commission to deale for restitution to be made unto them all, but advises them to complaine to the Pope, and crave of him plenary Justice. Whereupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legates proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining only to please the King: Who now is recommended to *Rome* for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne.

Miramumalim scorneth the message of King *Iohn*.

A note of the Kings irreligion.

King *Iohn* bribes the Pope and renews his oath.

The interdiction released.

1214.
Anno
Reg. 16.

Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacie used towards him.

The King having referred the ending of all this controverſie to the Legate, and ſome other of his owne Miniſters (being aſſured of the Popes favour) was now gone into Poitſon, to aſſaile (according to his deſigne) the King of France on that ſide: whiſt his forces with thoſe of the Emperour Otho, by the way of Flanders, invaded him on the other. And being with his Queene landed at Roebell, many principall Barons of Poitſon (apt to promiſe than performe their faith) came and ſwore fealty unto him: With whom hee marches forward into the Countrey, recovers many Caſtles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne Letters from Paris he certifies his Juſtices of the Exchequer: And withall, ſhewes them how he had granted to the Sonne of the Earle of March, his daughter Iohn in marriage, though, ſaid he, the King of France deſired her for his ſonne, but fraudulently, &c.

After this he goes into Brittain, takes in the City of Nantes, prepares to encounter with Louys the French Kings ſonne, who was come downe with a mighty Army to oppoſe his proceeding. But the Poitſonins diſtruſting his power, or he them (having diſcovered the forces of the enemy) reſuſed to fight: Whereupon the King of England, to his extreame grieve, forſooke the field, and made a diſhonourable truce with the King of France; and this was the laſt of his tranſmarine attempts. His forces into Flanders had farre worſe ſucceſſe; for the King of France with all the power he could poſſibly make, encounters them at the Bridge of Bouines, and overthrew the Emperour Otho; and the whole Army of the confederates, wherein are reported to have bene an hundred and fifty thouſand foote beſides horſe, and in the battaile ſlaine a thouſand five hundred Knights, and taken priſoners, Ferrand Earle of Flanders, the Earles of Salisburie, and Bologne. And (as report the *Annales of Flanders*) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of Brabant and Limburg, and the Earle of Luxemburg: the Emperour Otho the fourth hardly eſcaped, and lived not long after.

Vpon theſe miſfortunes, & fearing the outrage of a neceſſitous and diſtempered King, the Barons of England aſſemble themſelves at S. Edmondsburie, where they conferre of the late produced Charter of Henry the firſt, and ſwore upon the high Altar, that if King Iohn reſuſed to confirme and reſtore unto them thoſe liberties, (the rights of the kingdome) they would make war upon him untill he had ſatiſfied them therein: And further agreed, that after Chriſtmas next they would petition him for the ſame, and in the meane time provide themſelves of Horſe and Furniture, to be ready if the King ſhould ſtart from his Oath made at Wincheſter at the time of his abſolution, for the confirmation of theſe liberties, and compell him to ſatiſſie their demand. After Chriſtmas they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, urging their deſire with great vehemencie: the King ſeeing their reſolution and inclination to war, made answer, That for the matter they required, he would take conſideration till after Eaſter next; and in the meane time, hee tooke upon him the croſſe, (rather, as is ſaid, through feare than devotion) ſuppoſing himſelfe to be more ſafe under that protection. But the Lords continuing their reſolution, foreſeeing nothing was to be obtained but by ſtrong hand, aſſemble an Army at Stamford, wherein are ſaid to be two thouſand Knights, beſides Eſquires with thoſe that ſerved on foote, and from thence marched towards Oxford where the King then expected their coming, according to the appointed time, for answer to their demands.

And

And being come to Brackly with their Army, the King ſends the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Earle of Pembroke Mareſchall, with other grave Counſellours, to demand of them, what were thoſe Lawes and Liberties they required, to whom they ſhewed a Schedule of them, which the Commiſſioners deliver to the King, who having heard them read, in great indignation aſked why *The Barons did not likewise demand the kingdome, and ſwore, that he would never grant thoſe Liberties whereby himſelfe ſhould be made a ſervant.* So haſh a thing is it to a power that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not conſidering how they who inherit Offices ſucceed in the obligation of them, & that the moſt certain means to preſerve unto a King his kingdomes, is to poſſeſſe them with the ſame conditions that he hath inherited them.

The Barons upon his answer, being as haſty as he was averſe, reſolve to ſeize on his Caſtles, and preſently march towards Northampton, which they beſiege, conſtituting Robert Fitz Walter their Generall, intituling him the Mareſchall of the Army of God, and holy Church. And after they aſſaile the Caſtle of Bedford, where William de Beauchamp rendring his charge, receives them; and the Londoners ſend thither privy meſſage to joyne with them, and deliver up the City to be guarded by their diſcretion.

And thither they repaire, and are joyfully received, under paſt of their indemnity, where daily increaſing in number of new confederates, they make their proteſtation, never to give over the proſecution of their deſire, till they had conſtrained the King (whom they held perjured) to grant them their rights.

King Iohn ſeeing himſelfe in a manner generally forſaken, having ſcarce ſeven Knights faithfull unto him, counterfeites the Seales of the Biſhops, & writes in their names to all Nations, that the *English* were all Apoſtates, and whoſoever would come to invade them, he, by the Popes conſent, would conferre upon them all their lands and poſſeſſions. But this deviſe working no effect, in regard of the litle confidence they had in the King, & the power of the kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareſchall and others, and a parle is had betweene Windsor and Stanes, in a Meadow called *Running-mede*, (a place anciently uſed for ſuch conferences) where after many meetings and much debate, the King freely conſented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the kingdome, to confirme thoſe lawes & liberties formerly reſtored, and in part ordained by Henry the firſt.

And to the end that all diſcord ſhould utterly ceaſe, he grants for the intire and firme enjoying their Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner: That there ſhould be five and twenty Barons choſen of the kingdome, ſuch as they would, who ſhould, to their utmoſt power cauſe the ſame to be held and obſerved. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Juſticiar ſhould tranſgreſſe in any Article of the Lawes, and the offence ſhewed, ſoure Barons of the five and twenty ſhould come to the King, or in his abſence out of the kingdome, to his chiefe Juſticiar, and declare the exceſſe, requiring without delay, redreſſe for the ſame: which if not made within the ſpace of forty dayes after ſuch declaration; thoſe ſoure Barons ſhould referre the cauſe to the reſt of the five and twenty, who with the Commons of the land might deſtraine and enforce him by all meanes they could (viz. by ſeizing upon his Caſtles, Lands and Poſſeſſions or other good) (his perſon excepted, and that of his Queene & Children) till amends ſhould be made, according to their arbitration. And that whoſoever would, ſhould take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the five and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them diſſented, or could not aſſemble, the major

A Schedule of the demands of the Lords.

The Lords ſeize on the Kings Caſtles.

The Lords repaire to London.

King Iohn forſaken of his people.

The Earle Mareſchall & other mediate a reconciliation. A Parliament for reſtoring the Rights and Liberties of the kingdome.

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King Iohn.

The famous battaile of Bouines.

The death of the Emperour Otho.

King Iohn takes upon him the croſſe to ſecure himſelfe from the Barons.

The reſolution of the Barons aſſembling their Army at Stamford.

major part to have the same power of proceeding. Besides for more caution, the four Chatelaines of the Castles of Northampton, Kenilworth, Nottingham, and Skarbrough, should be sworne to obey the Commandement of the five and twenty Barons, or the major part of them, in whatsoever they thought good concerning those Castles. Wherein none should be placed but such as were faithfull, and would observe their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof divers are expressly nominated should be moved out of the Kingdome. And a general pardon granted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both sides, insoleme manner, for the inviolable observing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his Letters Patents to all the Sherifes of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soever, within their severall Shires, to sweare to observe those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

And in this manner (though it were to be wished, it had not beene in this manner) were recovered the rights of the kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to have now the Livery they had not the seisin. For presently the King being loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, unlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who observing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently upon that side; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity than otherwise they could of his orderly courses: Telling him, he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a subject to his Subjects. Wicked Counsellours, as if it were not enough, to be above men, but to be above mankind, as those Princes would be, that would be under the Law; considering the preservation of Kings and Kingdomes is to have the balance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsellours is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deserves to be deceived in his executions, who understands nor, as well the Counsellours as the Counsell.

Resolved he is (given over to confusion and revenge) to dissolve this tye, and privily withdraws himselfe into the Isle of Wight, from whence hee sends his Agents to Rome, (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this enforced act to the Pope, who by a definitive Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in and about the City of London; and there under colour of Turnements and exercise of Armes, invite those who were abroad to resort unto them, and so retaine themselves together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, either by surprise of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily have done, or using meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him those limbes of his power that might worke to offend them.

But this must either argue that their end was only to have (but what they had obtained) the restitution of the Liberties of the kingdome (which though thus recovered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or else their negligence, which may be thought strange in those wakefull and active times, to be such, as to leave a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially removed to a place, where the Sea being open unto him, his out-fendings might be without view or noting: unlesse either they presumed of his litle credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

But during this his retire in the Isle, which was three moneths, he slackes

1215.
Anno
Reg. 17

King Iohn by
evill counsell
frustrates his
owne Grants.

Retires into
the Isle of
Wight, and
writes to the
Pope.
The Pope ex-
communicates
the Barons.

The error of
the Barons.

no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to Rome, sends the Bishop of Worcester, Chancellor of England, the Bishop of Norwich, and others with his seale, to procure him Forraigne forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appointing them to repaire to Dover about Michaelmas next. In the meane time, without any royall they or hire (attended with some borrowed servants of the Bishop of Norwich, and Mariners of the Cinke-ports, whom he entertained) he, as they write, fell to piracy and exercised himselfe at sea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land; some giving out, that he was turned Fisher, some a Merchant, others a Pyrate. But at the time appointed he meetes at Dover with those Forraigne forces, drawne together out of Poitou and Gascony, under the conduct of Savarie de Malcon, Geoffrey and Oliver Bureuil brothers; with others out of Lovaine, and Brabant, under Walter Bucke, Gerrard Satin, and Godshall, all desperate adventurers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home, easily drew them to any mischiefs abroad; and with these is King Iohn furnished to set upon his owne people. And, had not Hugh de Bones (to whom the Countreys of Suffolke and Norfolk were allotted for service to be done) setting forth from Calise with 40. thousand more men, women and children, beene by a suddaine tempest drowned in the Sea, he had made an universall conquest of the Kingdome, faire more miserable than the Norman: considering that with those he had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently he did.

For, after he had recovered the Castle of Rochester, which William de Albemarle, with memorable courage, held out three months against all that mighty power of his (the Barons not able or not adventuring to succour him) hee marched over the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons even to the borders of Scotland, and was absolute Master of all England, except the City of London, on which he forbore to adventure, in regard of the close united power of the Barons that resolutely held, and vowed to dye together; and separate them he could not, and therefore from Rochester he marches to S. Albans, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

And here he devides his Army (consisting most of ravenous strangers) in two parts: appointing his brother William Earle of Salisbury, with Richard de Malcon Leader of the Poitevilles, brother, and brother of the Flemings, and Arabantines, to guard the countreys and Castles about the City of London, to cut off all provisions, and annoy the Barons by all meanes possible: himselfe with the other part of his Forces draws Northward, and layes waite all the countreys before him, and both these Armies set onely upon destruction, and all those calamities, that the rage of a disorderly Warre could command upon a miserable people that made no head at all against them. All countreys suffer in this amotion, and King Iohn marching as farre as Blouart, had purposed to have carried it farther, threatening the King of Scots, that he would burne the Fox to his hole, alluding to his resolution, not to be called from that attempt to come backe to these parts, upon discovery of new Designs practised by the Barons, who seeing themselves deprived of their Estates, given away to strangers, their wives and children displaced, all their substance consumed, desperately fall upon another extreme, making out for neede at any rate the French Kings come, promising him to take upon him the Crowne of England, wherein they promised by their free election to invest him, and to send pledges for the performance thereof, being partly added that those Forces of the French, which King Iohn had en-

The King
sends to levy
forraigne for-
ces, to be met
at Dover.

He meetes
with them at
Dover.

Hugh de Bones
with 40000.
men, being
drowned in
the Sea.

The King in
halfe a yeare
recovers all
his Castles.

1216.
Anno
Reg. 18
King Iohn at
S. Albans de-
vides his Army
in two parts.

The Barons
sollicite, Long,
the French
King, don't
take upon him
the Crown of
England.

The Pope
writes to di-
vert *Leuys*
from the en-
terprise.

...
...
...

Reste vier
840 Sagen

Louys lands
in Kent, 21.
of May.

Dis-
on.

The **UPPER**
fect the Pope
excommunicat
canonically
wrought a
11159 over

100

retained, would upon the coming of those aydes for the King of France, being their Sovereigne, forsake him. This message is entertayned, a Parliament is called at *Lyons*, by King *Phillip* the Father of *Louys*, the businesse consulted, and resolved upon. *Louys* beides the assurance made of his proffered election, relies upon a title which he claimes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Sister of King *John*, and writes to the Barons that he would shortly send them succour, and not be long behind to be with them in person.

The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope, who presently sends his Agent to the King of *France*, with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his Sonne to invade or disquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard he was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominion, appertaining thereunto. The King of *France* answers, *That the Kingdome of England never was, nor is, or ever shall be the patrimony of St. Peter, and that King Iohn was never lawfull King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited the same by the murder of Arthur, for which he was condemned in his Court, neither could he give away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would be a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

Here with the Pope's Legat departs unfurnished, *Kame*, having first dispatched Commissioners to *Kame* to declare his right and justify his undertaking, returns forth from *Galice* with 600 ships, and 80. other vessels, and lands with his Army at *Sandwich*. King *Iohn* attends him at *Reghen*, with purpose to encounter him at his landing, but upon notice of his great power, and distrusting the Faith of his mercenaries, having committed the keeping of the Castle of *Warr* to *Hubert de Burgh*, forsakes the field, and with it himself, retires first to *Winchester*, after to *Gloucester*, and leaves all to the will of his enemy *Kame*, who after he had obtained the submission of all *Kent* (except the Castle of *Dover* which he never could get), he comes to *London*, where he is joyfully received by the Barons, and upon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes and recover their rights hath homage and fealty done him, as the Sovereign Lord; I thither came likewise the Barles *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Saunders*, *William Mareschall* the younger with many other (forsaking King *Iohn*) and rendered themselves unto him.

Challenging the Popes Agent, notwithstanding the word was out in all the way
of his passage, *Glorious*, the said King *Larry*, the Popes care of him, and
in solemn manner, pronounces the sentence of Excommunication against
Larry, and all that are engaged with him, which though it brought him some
comfort for the time, yet it took him time or nothing from the enemy, neither
could it so comfort his mercenaries but that most of them left him, and either
returned home into their Countreys with such pay as they had, or betook
themselves to business, *Larry* was not yet so forsaken, but that
he had power enough remaining, to infect though not encounter his ene-
mies, and faith he found abroad amongst many of his Ministers that wel-
comed their charge, *Power*, *Gallie*, with a small Company holds out
against all the force that *Larry* could bring against it, *Windsor*, *Castle*, gar-
ded but with three score men could not be wonne with all the power of
the Barons, some other peeces, as *Yerburgh* and *Lincolne*, *Gallie*, made
very resolute resistance, but nothing effected save the ruine of the Country
the most yielding and fertile parts of the Kingdom, as about *Glorious*, the
Marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnbury*, *Cambridge*, *Leicester*, *Warwick*, *Gloucester*,
all about *London* are the stages of this War, & here they do their mischiefes
which continued all that Summer; And about the latter end of *October*,
burning

burning Fever makes an end of this fiery King, which took him upon an extreme griefe conceived for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Washes* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abby of Swineshead, from whence in great weakenesse he is conveyed to *Newmarke*, where, after he had received the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, he departs this life, having reigned 18. yeares, five moneths, and four dayes.

The Abbot of *Crockeston*, a man skilfull in Physicke, and at that time the Kings Physitian, disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would have given notice to the World, had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) bene poysoned by a Monke of Swinhead Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howsoever, his Death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subject as their evill Subjects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamorous Pen, witnessse this Distique:

*Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fætorc Iohannis,
Sordida fædatur fædante Iohanne Gehenna.*

He had issue by his wife *Isabel* (daughter to *Aymer* Earle of *Angouleme*) two sonnes, *Henry* and *Richard*, also three daughters *Joan*, *Elionor*, and *Isabel*.

Henry succeeded him in his Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornewall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *John* that dyed without issue, also *Edward* Earle of *Cornewall* and others.

Joan the eldest Daughter (married to *Alexander* the second, King of Scots) dyed without issue.

Eliouer the second daughter (married to Simon Earle of Leicester) had issue Henry, Simon, Almaricke, Guy, Richard, and Eliouer. Henry slaine without issue. Simon Earle of Bigorre, and Ancestor to a Family of the Mountfords in France. Almaricke first a Priest, after a Knight. Guy Earle of Angleria in Italy, and Progenitor of the Mountfords in Tuscaine; and of the Earles of the Campo Bacchi in the Kingdome of Naples. Richard remaining privily in England, and changing his name from Mountford, to Wellesborne, was Ancestor of the Wellesbornes in England. Eliouer borne in England, brought up in France, married into Wales to Prince Lewin ap Griffith.

Isabel their youngest daughter (married to the Emperor *Fredricke* the second) had issue, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicile*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, Landgrave, *Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after she had bene Empresse six years. He had also two naturall sonnes. *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that transported souldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his Father to goe thither: *Richard*, (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Dover*, who built *Childham* Castle) had issue by her, of which some Families of good esteeme are descended. Likewise one naturall Daughter *Joan* married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Iohn.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

THE death of King *John*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable businesse of the Kingdome: For *Louys*, notwithstanding held his hopes, and his party though much shaken by the suddaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldest sonne to King *John*, solemnized in a great Assembly of States at *Gloce*.

The death of
King John.

Mr. P. J. T.

His issue.

Join Speede.

1215.

Anno
Reg. I,

Henry the
third crowned
at Gloucester.

ster the 18. of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall, William Earle of Pembroke, the maine Pillar of the Father, and now the preserver of the Crowne to his sonne, a man eminent both in courage and Counsell, who with Guallo the Popes Legate, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, worke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King. from this Excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of most of them doubtfull what to resolve upon, in regard of the tender youth of Henry, and their Oath made to Louys.

But such was the insolence of the French, making spoyle and prey of whatsoever they could fasten on (and now invented by Louys, contrary to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recovered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelity, and forsake his part. Which more of them would have done, but for the shame of inconstancy, and the danger of their pledges, remayning in France, which were great ties upon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscount Melun a French-man, who lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is sayd to reveale the intention, and vow of Louys (which was utterly to extinguishe the English Nation, whom he held vile, and never to bee trusted, having forsaken their owne Sovereigne Lord) wrought a great aversion in the hearts of the English, which whether it were indeede uttered, or given out of purpose, it was so to be expected, according to the precedents of all in brought Forreiners upon the divisions of a distracted people.

And first William Earle of Salisbury, mooved in blood to succour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the side of Louys, and with him the Earles of Arundel, Warren, William, sonne and heire to the great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of Henry, after six moneths they had revolted to the service of Louys, which now may be thought was done but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game; otherwise a brother would not have forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a Father, and sonne have divided their starres. Norwithstanding Louys found hands enough to hold London, with all the Countries about it a whole yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about Gloucester, Worcester, and Bristol, where his wakefull ministers faile not to imploy all meanes to gather upon whatsoever advantages could be espied, & at length so wrought as they drew the enemy from the head of the Kingdome downe into the body, first into Leicester shire to relieve the Castle of Montfort a peece appertaining to Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, a great partisan of Louys, and after by degrees to Lincoln, where a Noble Lady called Philippa (but of what Family, time hath injuriously bereft us the knowledge) had, more than with Feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yeare, against Gilbert de Gant, and the French forces, which were posselt of the Towne.

The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and Kingdome, with his sonne, William, the Bishops Winchester, Salisbury and Chester, the Earles of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Albermarle, William de Albini, John Marshall, William de Cantelmepe, Falsinus, Thomas Bassett, Robert Veypnt, Brent de Lisse, Geffery Lucy, Philip de Albini, and many other Barons, and Marshall men, being with all the power of the young King, (whose forces as they marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called Stow within eight miles of Lincoln, the Legat Guallo to ad courage & resolution to the Army caused upon confessio of their sins, the eucharist to be ministred & gives them a plenary absolution, solemnly

accursing

The confessi-
on of the Vis-
count Melun
at his death.

Divers Lords
revolt from
Louys.

The forces of
Louys over-
throwne.

accursing Louys with all his adherents, as separated from the unity of the Church, which done, they set forth, and with such violence assaile the City on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of Perch, valiantly fighting, was slaine) were soone defeated, and all the Principall men taken Prisoners, whereof these are nominated: Saer Earle of Winchester, Henry de Bohun, Earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Grant, lately made Earle of Lincoln by Louys, Robert Fitz Walter, Richard Monfichet, William Mowbray, William Beauchamp, William Mandit, Oliver Harcourt, Roger de Cressy, William de Coleville, William de Ros, Robert de Ropsley, Ralph Chanduit Barons, besides 400. Knights or men at Armes, with their servants, horse and foot. The number and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatnesse of the Victory, which gave Louys his maine blow, and was the last of his batailles in England.

The spoiles were very great being of a City, at that time rich in Merchandize, whereupon the winners (in derision) tearmed it Louys his Faire. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this overthrow; were slaine by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards London unto Louys, who upon notice of this great defeat, sends presently over for succour into France, and drawes all the power he had in England, to the City of London; whither the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose either to assaile Louys upon this fresh dismay of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first being found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto Louys would not be brought to yeeld, untill hearing how his succors comming out of France, where by Phillip de Albini, and Hugh de Burgh, with the Forces of the Cincke-ponts, all vanquished at Sea, he then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safety, condescends to an accord: takes fiftene thousand Markes for his voyage, abjures his claime to the Kingdome: promises by Oath to worke his Father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such Provinces in France, as appertained to this Crowne; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

On the other part King Henry takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Prorektor, to restore unto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subjects, all their rights and heritages, with those liberties for which the discord beganne, betweene the late King and his people. Generall pardon is granted, & all prisoners freed on both sides: Louys is honorably attended to Dover, and departs out of England about Michaelmas: above two yeares after his first arrivall, having bene here, in the greatest part, received King, and was more likely to have established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) than the Norman that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diverted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an unruly King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the Fathers iniquity, most willingly imbrace the son, as naturally inclined to love, & obey their Princes.

And in this recovery, the industry of Guallo the Legat wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had bene first an especiall cause for this great combustion in the Kingdome, but as they who worke the greatest mischiefs, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thanks. The Legat was well payed for his paines, and notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelve thousand Markes with him to Rome.

The spoyle of
Lincolne.

The peace
was conclu-
ded the 11. of
September.

1218.

Anno
Reg. 3.

1219.

Anno
Reg. 4.

But thus the longest afflicted state beganne to have some peace, and yet with many distemperatures at the first, ere those virulent humours which the Warre had bred were otherwise diverted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, eyther unsatisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themselves and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, surprizing of Castles, and making spoyles in the Country, as the Earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veypont, Foulke de Brent, Brian de Lisle, Hugh de Bailioll, with many other; but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the Warre must nurse, whom it had bred, an action is undertaken for the holy Land, whither Ralph Earle of Chester, Saer de Quincy Earle of Winchester, William de Albeny Earle of Arundell, Robert Fitz Walter, William de Harcourt, with many others, are sent with great Forces: besides, to unburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, unlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to avoyd the Land, and all meanes used for the regaining the ability it had lost.

The death of
the Protector
Earle Marshall.

And no sooner had this provident Protector the Earle of Pembroke settled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regret of the Kingdome; leaving behind him a most Noble memory of his active worth, and is to be numbred amongst the examples of the best of men; to shew how much the wisdom and valour of a potent Subject may steede a distracted State in time of danger.

The King
againe Crow-
ned.
1 Parliament.

The Bishop of Winchester (imparting the charge with many other great Councillors) is made Protector of the young King, who in Anno Reg. 4. is againe crowned, and the next yeare after, hath by Parliament granted for the Escuage two markes of silver of every Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recovery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and Malleon de Sauceri the Poitounian with William Longsword Earle of Salisbury, sent over into Guien to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of France is required to make restitution of what he had usurped, but returns answer; *That what he had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, he would holde.*

1220.

Anno
Reg. 5.

1111.

Anno
Reg. 6.

To retaine amity with Scotland, and peace at home, Joan, the Kings sister is given in marriage to Alexander King of Scots, and Margaret, sister to the same King, to Hubert de Burgh, now made Iusticiar of England, and the especial man who guided the greatest affaires of the Kingdome. Wales, revolting under their Prince Lewelin, gave occasion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings Reigne, and long after, till it was wholly subdued. And a commotion in Ireland, made by Hugh Lacy, is appeased by William Earle of Pembroke, sonne to the late great Marshall; and some few yeeres after hath the Kingdome a kind of quietnesse, saving that Foulcasius (or Foulke de Brent) with certaine Chateilains (the dregs of War) fortifying the Castle of Bedford, with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gave occasion of businesse till they were gotten by hard assault.

But now the King being come to some yeares of understanding, was, in a Parliament holden at London, put in minde by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, upon the peace which Louys for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the War began with his Father, and being the maine base whereon his owne good, and that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall asunder; they would have him to know it betime, to avoide

avoids those miserable inconveniences, which the disunion of Rule and Obedience might bring upon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall ever finde mouths, to expresse their pleasures in what course soever they take) by some Ministers of his (amongst whom one William Brewer a Councillor is named) who urged it to have beene an Act of constraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to be ratified, and twelve Knights, or other Legat men of every Shiere by Writs charged to examine, what were the Lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enjoyed under his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day; and so by that usuall shift of Prolongation, the businesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his Reigne of six and fifty yeares (the longest of any King of England) this put him to the greatest imbroylement, made him ill beloved of his people (ever croft in his intendements) and far a lesse King, onely by striving to be more than he was: the just reward of violations. And even this first pause, upon the lawfull requisition thereof, turned the blood, and shewed how sensible the State was, in the least stoppage of that tender veine: For, presently the Earles of Chester and Albimarle with many other great men, assemblé at Leicester with intent to remoove from the King Hugh de Burgh chiefe Iusticiar and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. But the Archbishop of Canterbury by his spirituall power, and the rest of the Nobility, more carefull to preserve the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would not suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrained to come in, and submit themselves. And here the King by Parliament resumes such alienations as had beene made by his Ancestors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby he might have the more meanes of his owne without pressing his Subjects; but this served not his turne.

The next yeare after another Parliament is held at Westminster, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all moveables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the recovery of those parts in France withheld from this Crowne by Louys now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in England at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (being the inheritance of the King, and the estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subjects, who had Lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubt, they desired to recover with their utmost means) yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subsidy, but upon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end they obtayned, in the same words and forme as King John had granted them in the two Charters before.

And twelve Knights, or Legall men are chosen in every shiere, upon their Oath, to disparte the old Forrests from the new: And all such as were found to have beene inforrested since the first Coronation of Henry the second to be disafforrested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to possesse them. Whereupon they were layd open, plowed and improoved to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the Subject, whereby men, in steede of wilde beasts, were sustayned, and more roome made for them to use their industry.

Two yeares with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a State) these liberties were enjoyed, when the King at a Parliament at Oxford, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the Affaires of the Kingdome; cancels and annuls the Charter of Forrests, as granted in his Nonage, having no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity: And causes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy,

1222.

Anno

Reg. 7.

2 Parliament.

Resumption.

1223.

Anno

Reg. 8.

3 Parliament

Disforestati-
ons.

1225.

Anno

Reg. 10

4 Parliament.

Clergy, and all others, if they would enjoy those liberties, should renew their Charters, & have them confirmed under his new Seale: For which they were constrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is layd the blame of this mischief, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and bred a new insurrection of the Nobility, who, taking advantage upon a breach lately falne out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* (about the Castle of *Barkmsted*, appertayning to that Earledome which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran* a Dutcheman) joyned with the Earle, and put themselves in Armes. For the King maintayning the cause of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Castle which he had taken from him; or else to depart the Kingdome.

The Earle answers that he would neither doe the one or the other: without the judgement of his Peeres; and so departs to his lodging, leaving the King much displeased with this answer. The chiefe Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, advises the King suddainly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custody; but the Earle eyther through notice, or doubt thereof, flies presently to *Marleborough*, where he findes *William* Earle *Marshall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom he hastes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with divers Barons, and men at armes: From whence they send to the King, advising him to right the injury done to his brother. The cause heereof, they impute to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himselfe: besides, they require restitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

The King, to avoyde this danger, appoints them a day to come to an Assembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded; & to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring unto him his Castle) he grants him all that his mother had in Dowre, and whatsoever Land the Earle of *Brittaine* held in *England*, with those of the Earle of *Bologne* lately deceased, and so the Parliament brake up. After this the generall motion for the holy Wars intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that credulous world, as sixty thousand sufficient men, are reported to have undertaken that Voyage: of whom *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *William* Bishop of *Excester*, are the Leaders.

The King is solicited by *Hugh le Brun* Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come over into *France* to recover his right, upon the great alterations hapning in those parts by this occasion.

Louys the eight (who succeeded *Phillip* the second) being lately dead, after his great siege of *Anignon*, and his Warres made against the Heretickes *Albigens* in *Provence*, leaves the Kingdome to his sonne *Louys* of the age of twelve yeares, in whose minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking upon her the Regency, so discontented the Princes of the blood, as they opposeth themselves against her, holding it both dishonorable and dangerous, that a woman and a stranger, by the counsell of *Spaniards* (whom she advanced above the Naturals of the Kingdome) should governe all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip* Earle of *Bologne*, Vncle by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Brittaine*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queene regent had

The revoking the Charters of Forrests which bred a new insurrection.

1226.

Anno

Reg. 11.

5 Parliament.

1227.

Anno

Reg. 12.

French History.

had erected the Country of *Poitou* to a County, and made *Battle* thereof *Alphonso* her sonne, brother to the young King, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, he refuses to acknowledge *Alphonso* for Lord: instigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene Dowager of *England*, who could not comport a superior so neere her doore, in so much as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lassignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also presuming upon the greatnesse of his house descended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Brittaine* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great summes of the Clergy, of the City of *London*, for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Jewes, passes over with an Army, lands at *S. Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earle of *Brittaine* doe homage unto him, and great preparations are made to recover such peeces as had bene obtayned by the late King of *France*.

The Queene Regent sets out a powerfull Army to stop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much mischief is wrought on both sides in *Poitou*, *Xaintongs*, *Angoumois*, where their friends and enemies suffer all alike. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their travaile, both weary of the business, eyther a peace, or truce is concluded.

The King of *England* besides an infinite expence of Treasure, having lost divers of his Nobles and other Valiant men in the journey, without any glory returns home, bringing with him the Earle of *Brittaine* and many *Poitovians* to receive their promised reward, which notwithstanding all the former expence must be wrung out of the substance of the poore Subjects of *England*.

Vpon his returne, he entertaines a purpose of marriage with a sister of the King of *scots*, against which, the Earles and Barons of *England* generally oppose; alledging it to be unfit that he should have the younger sister, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had married the eldest; and the Earle of *Brittaine*, by whose counsell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he gives five thousand markes, as if remaining of the summe he had promised. And for the rest of the *Poitovians*, their presents and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receivours and others, whom now he calls to account, and casts for disbanding him in their Offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grievously fined: Then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all under him, in a place ever obnoxious to detraction and envy) is called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office (which was then for all relieves, and subsidies, whatsoever raised on the subject) and notwithstanding he had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his Office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of Treason.

No sooner was this great Officer, and inward Counsellour falne into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of favour held in) were discharged upon him, and every act of his examined, and urged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* layes to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrestling in *Saint James* fields, Anno Reg. 4.) as done without Warrant and Law, and crave Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to avoide this suddaine storme comming upon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, whence, by armed

The King calls his Officers to account.

1228.

Anno

Reg. 13.

The King removes his officers.

armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priviledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of London, in whose Dioces it was, complains, and so wrought that he is brought backe againe to the same Chappell. But yett all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who gives strict commandment to the Shrieves of *Hartford* and *Suffex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away he is sent prisoner to the *Vixes*, his mony left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, & seized into the Kings hands; claying that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Stephen de se. grave* is put into his Office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which feldome gaines by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same Fortunes. *Walter Bishop of Carlisle* is likewise thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, of his place of Marshall of the Kings house; and all the chiefe Counsellours, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are removed as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, lately returned from the holy Wars, to be the Author of most unholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Rivalis*, now the especiall minion about the King.

These straines of so strange and insufferable violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall, upon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselves for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shew the King his error, and ill advised course in suffering strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their Lawes and liberties, and that unless he would reforme this excessse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, he and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselves from his Counsell; whereunto the Bishop of Winchester replies: that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers he listed about him, for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud and rebellious subjects to their owne due obedience. With which answer the Earle and the rest depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their lives.

Hereupon the King suddainly sends over for whole legions of *Poiteuvians*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come, both in regard they found themselves despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Counsell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the Voyce of God to the people is uttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischief of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryer Predicant; but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feare they most*, the King replies: Sea-men know that best themselves; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petra & Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of Winchester.

After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at *Westminster*: Whither likewise they refused to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of Winchester, and the *Poiteuvians* from the Court: otherwise, by the Common Councill of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his evill Counsellors out of the Land, and deale for the Creation of a new King.

Vpon this threatening, pledges are required of the Nobility to be delivered by a certaine day, for security of their allegiance. But no act passed in this

Parlia-

Parliament though divers Lords came thither, as the Earles of *Cornwall*, *Chester*, *Lincolne*, *Ferrers* and others. In regard the Earle *Mareschall*, the Lord *Gilbert Basset*, and other Nobles were not present. Then were Writts sent out to all who held by Knights service, to repaire to the King at *Glocester* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Mareschall* and his associates refusing, the King, without the judgment of his Court and their Peeres, causes to be proclaimed Outlawes, seizes upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poiteuvians*, and directs out Writts to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdome.

The Bishop of Winchester to weaken the party of the *Mareschall*, wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincolne* with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased his brother the Earle of *Cornwall*, as he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew them into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* and other great men in that country, (whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaping out of the *Vixes* Castle, and joynes with them) taking their oath mutually, that no one without other should make their accord.)

The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against those revolted Lords, into *Wales*, where he had the worst of the businesse, and much dishonour, returns to *Glocester*, imployes new forces of strangers, but all without success. Whereupon a Fryer of the order of Minors is imployed to conferre with the Earle *Mareschall*, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the Kings mercy, whom he had heard to say notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate upon submission; and besides, give him so much of *Herefordshire*, as should conveniently maintain him. Besides, the Fryer told him that he heard other Counsellors about the King, concerning the wishing of his submission, and in what forme they desired it should be imparted in privat. And then, as of himselfe, hee uses all inducements possible to draw him thersunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit and safety so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing moved, told the Fryer what injury he had received, and that he could not suffer the King so long as he had such Counsellors about him; who onely sought the destruction of him, and his associates, who ever had bene his loyall subjects. And after many objections made by the Fryer with urging the Kings power, his owne weakenesse and the danger he was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no danger; that he would never yeeld to the Kings will, that was guided by no reason; that he should give an ill example to relinquish the justice of his cause to obey that will which wrought all injustice, whereby it might appeare, they loved worldly possessions more than right and honour, &c.

So nothing was done, the War continues with much effusion of blood, all the borders of *Wales* unto *Shrewsbury*, are miserably wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is used to draw the Earle *Mareschall* over into *England* to defend his state there, which was likewise seized upon, by authority given under the Kings hand and Seale, and all those great possessions descended unto him from his Ancestor the Earle *Strangbow* (the first conqueror of that country) spoiled and taken from him. And here, seeking to recover to his youthhood he lost his life, circumvented by treachery; his death gave occasion of griefe both to his friends and enemies. The King disavows the sending of his commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof, and discharges himselfe upon his Counsellors. A poore shift of weak Princes. And after two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, whither the Bishops gravely admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the mischief of dissension betweene him and his Kingdome;

The King with an army against the Lords.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the king.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament upon summons.

1232.

Anno
Reg. 17
6 Parliament.

1232
Anno
Reg. 17

1234.
Anno
Reg. 19
7 Parliament.

dome, occasioned through the ill counsell of his Ministers, to be at union with his people, to remove from him strangers and others, by whose intigitation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are fostered; and his naturall subjects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the greivances of the State, and the abules of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to governe his, according to the example of other kingdomes; by the natives of the land; and their laws: Otherwise they would proceede by Ecclesiasticall censure, both against his Counsellours and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist and get to his ends, but by temporizing, consents to call home these Lords out of Wales, restores them to their places and possessions, amoves those strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account. The Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rivallis and Stephen Segrave thereupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, upon mediation they obtained with great fines, their liberty, dearly paying for their two yeares eminencie and grace.

Isabel the kings
sister married
to the Empe-
rour.

Things thus appeased, the King gives his sister Isabel in marriage to the Emperour Frederick the second (successor to Otto, and grand-child to Frederick Barbarossa) the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Duke of Lozaine were sent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to Sandwich with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnized at Wormes. Shee was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yielded neither strength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time; (Innocent the third, Honorius, Innocent the fourth, Gregory the ninth) was such and so great, as all he could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For, not to let goe that honour of the Empire he had in Italy, with his hereditary kingdomes of Naples and Sicile which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was put to be perpetually in conflict, never free from vexations, thrust from his owne courses, enjoyned to undertake the holy Warres, to waite him abroad, weakened at home by excommunications, & fines for absolutions, for which, at one time he paid eleven thousand Markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes so prevailed, that in the grave of this Frederick was buried the Imperiall Authority in Italy; after he had thus reigned foure and thirty yeares, leaving his sonne Conrad successour rather of his miseries, than his inheritance. He had a sonne by Isabel named Henry, to whom he bequeathed the kingdome of Sicile, and a hundred thousand ounces of gold, but he lived not to enjoy it.

To the marriage of this sister, the King gives thirty thousand Markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other Ornaments of great value: Towards which is raysted two Markes upon every Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himselfe marries Blanche daughter to Raymond Earle of Provence, a match in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and benefit of estate, like advantageous either to him or his kingdome. But the continuall stance of alliance drew on, with some other promises which were not observed. So that he is neither greater, nor richer by these alliances, but rather lessened in his meanes, having no dowry with his wife, full of poore kindred that must draw meanes from this kingdome.

After the solemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at London, which the King would have held in the Towre, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of

more

more freedome, is appointed: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome, order is taken that all Shrieves are remooved from their Offices upon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to avoide bribery) put in their roomes, taking their oathes to receive no gifts, but in victuals, and those without excessse.

Heere the King displaces his Steward, and some other Counsellors, and offers to take from the Bishop of Chichester, then Chancellor, the great Seale; but the Bishop refuses to deliver it, alledging, how he had it by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it, and having carryed himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much favoured by the people. Peter de Rivallis and Stephen Segrave, are againe received into grace: An argument of the Kings levity, and irresolution, mooved, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and undoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he ever looses ground. And now faine would he have revoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being done beyond his power, and without the consent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceived displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. Another Parliament, or the same adjourned is held at London, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, he requires the thirtieth part of all mooveables, as well of the Clergy as Layery. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Levies had bene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentieth, now of the thirtieth, and fortieth parts: And that it was a thing unworthy and injurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and never did good to the Kingdome, eyther in expelling, or repressing enemy, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subjugating the same to strangers, that he should extort by so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaves of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of Aliens. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would never more injury the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely relieve him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, that the same was done without their counsell, neither ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault: After foure daies consultation, the King promising to use onely the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, disavowing and protesting against the revocation lately propounded and freely granting the inviolable observation of the Liberties, under paine of excommunication, hath yielded unto him the thirtieth part of all mooveables (reserving yet to every man his ready coyne, horse and armour to be employed for the Commonwealth.) For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordained that foure Knights of every Shiere, and one Clerke of the Kings should upon their Oath receive and deliver the same, eyther unto some Abbay or Castle, to be reserved there; that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Countrey whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leave the Counsell of Aliens, and onely use that of his naturall Subjects. Wherein to make shew of his part, hee suddainly causes the Earles Warren and Ferrers, with John Fitz Gessery to be sworne his Counsellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giving that satisfaction to his subjects as he had promised concerning strangers; and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not

Shrieves re-
mooved for
corruption.

9 Parliament.

1237.

Anno
Reg. 21

Foure knights
of every shiere
ordained to
take charge of
the subsidy.

P

observed

1230.
Anno
Reg. 20

The coming of Simon Monfort to England.

The grievances of the Kingdome.

1238
Anno
Reg. 22
10. Parliam.
ment.

observed in the leavying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courtestaken in the vauing of mens estates, than was held convenient. Moreover *William Valentine* Vncle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possesse him so, as nothing is done without his Counsell: the Earle of *Provence*, the father; a poore Prince, is invited to come over to participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monfort* a French man borne (banished out of France by Queene *Blanch*) is entertained in England, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Elionor* the Kings Sister (widow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Great Marshall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter of *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subjects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought upon,) is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdome (the Queene being young and child-lesse) the preservation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and he is the man employed to the King, to impart the publike grievances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subject) and cast away upon Strangers who onely guide him; then the infinite summes he had raysed in his time: How there was no Archbishopricke, or Bishopricke, except *Torke*, *Lincolne* and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheats; and yet his treasure, which should be the strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreover, how he as if both despising his, and the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, was so obsequious to the will the Romans, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as he seemed to adore his foote-steps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or private, but by his consent, so that he seemed absolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King upon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had sounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolved to take part against him, hee againe (by the advice of the Legat, who had earnestly dealt with the Earle of *Cornwall*, to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calls a Parliament at *London*. Whither the Lords came armed both for their owne safety, and to constrain the King (if he refused) to the observation of the premises, and reformation of his courses.

Here, after many debates, the King (taking his Oath) to referre the businesse to the order of certaine grave men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed and publicly set up to the view of all, with the scales of the Legat, and divers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monfort* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom he and the State were displeased) the Earle growes cold in the businesse. The Lords perceiving the staffe of their strength to faile them, failed themselves, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the Kingdome continue as they did.

1239.
Anno
Reg. 23

Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* (the third sonne of *William* the Great Marshall) and caused his gates to be shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retyres into the North. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his favours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Master of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but sayd to be Master of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and given to the

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the Abbot of *Evesham*. In like sort, his brother *Geffery* a Knight Templar is plit out of the Counsell, both of them much maligned by the Nobility: who had often before laboured their amovement, as held to be corrupt counsellours, and Wrongers of the State; and now are they false off themselves. But the cause of this dejection may shew, that oftentimes Officers under weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World holds them to be; for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King, made unto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* (the Queenes Vncle) of foure pence upon every sacke of Wooll (an enormous when accounted) they both lost their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall discovering what the envy that attended their Fortune, hindered men to see. To this Earle of *Flanders*, the next yeare after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

Now, besides the great exaction of the King, and his wastes: The Sea of *Rome* extorts huge Summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow up the substance of the Kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergy so wide; as they let but many exclamations against the avarice of the Popes of that time: And the Romaine Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre upon the easie yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung out what they listed. In so much, as besides the Fleece, they would now have the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandate to have three hundred Romaines preferred to the benefices which should be first vacant in England; which so amazed the Clergy, and especially *Edmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he, seeing no end of these Conclusions of the State, and Liberties of the Church, and himselfe (on whom the Scandall of all must light, unable by reason of the Kings remission to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) gives over all; and betakes himselfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbay of *Pontinnac* in France; and there applies him to the Contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ranfome for his Church, eight hundred Markes to the Pope.

The Clergy, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could against the Popes rapine, who to get mony for his Wars with the Emperour, used daily new and insolent pressures upon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how prejudiciall and derogatory it was to his royalty; and the liberty of the Kingdome to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore ever did; And of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors. The King, eyther not apprehensive of the mischief, or content to joyne with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliver the chiefe opposers up unto him. Whereupon they seeing themselves forsaken, and no power to succour them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation, presumes more peremptorily to urge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a convocation at *London* for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergy declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperour, and effusion of Christian blood, was unlawfull, he being not an Hereticke, nor condemned by the judgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of England, being required under paine of Ecclesiasticall censure, as a thing of servitude and compulsion: That they had heretofore given a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that never any such exaction should againe be made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, for as much as *Bonus annus inducat consuetudinem*.

P 2

That

Thomas of Savoy marryeth the inheretrix of the Earldome of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.

Edmond Archbishop of *Canterbury* gives over his See.

Pope *Gregory* the ninth.

Parliament. That as their function was publike, so should also be their election.

But whiles these things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and disturber of peace, the Divell, (saith *Mat. Par.*) hindring the proceeding, by the coming of *Martin* a new Legate sent from the Pope, with a larger power than ever any before, to exact upon the State; which hee supposed now to have beene so wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne being served, his likewise should bee presently supplied. But making too much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desire, and receives a most peremptory repulie of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home, with this displeasing message. *That the Kingdome was poore: had great Warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Besides, this course was of dangerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Councell was shortly to be held at Lyons, if the Church would be relieved, it were fit the same should be done by a generall consent in that Councell.*

Besides, at this time the Emperour *Fredericke*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first intreats, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might have no supplies out of England, which (he said) were only required to relieve him, whom contrary to all Piety and Justice he had oppressed, by seizing upon his Cities and Castles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithstanding his often submission and desire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and unjust excommunications. And seeing he could obtaine no due hearing, he had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of England and France, and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therefore desires, he might not receive detriment, whence he expected favour, as a brother and friend. Adding in the end, that if the King would be advised by him, he would by power free this Kingdome from that unjust tribute which *Innocentius the third*, and other Popes had layd upon it. These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

The interposition of this businesse tooke up so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of every Knights fee, and that with much adoe and repetition of all his former aydes.

After this, upon a light occasion, the King undertakes an expedition of great charge against *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which every Baron which held in Capite, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to bee ready with all Military provision due for that service. Whereunto, likewise repaires *Thomas Earle of Flanders* with three score Knights, and a hundred other servants (thirsting for the Kings money) whose unnecessary coming was ill taken by the Barons of England, as if the strength of the Kingdome without him, were not sufficient for that action, which was as suddainly ended as undertaken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his virtues, by the Writers of that time.

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he assembles another Parliament, wherein he mooves for an ayde, upon a designe he had for *Wales*, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were urged to be so great, as he could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessities of House. But they all do his face, with one voyce, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken: An ancient quarrell is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fiftene thousand Markes. And

The Emperour *Fredericke* letters to the king.

Another evincence of the Barons.

13 Parliament

And *Passeleve* the Kings Clerke is employed with others in a most peremptory Commission, to inquire of all such Lands, as had beene inforrested, and cyther to fine the Occupiers thereof, at their pleasure, or take it from them, and sell the same to others. Wherein such rigor was used, as multitudes of people were undone. So unsafe are private mens estates, where Princes fall into great wants. *Passeleve* for his good service in this businesse should have beene preferred to the Bishopricke of *Chichester*; but the Bishops withstood the King herein. Now, in regard to shew the King the estate of his Kingdome, and the oppression of Popes; Inquiry was made of the revenues which the Romans and Italians had in England, which was found to be annually sixty thousand Markes, being more than the yearly revenues of the Crowne of England: which so mooved the King, as he caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, by his procurators to the generall Councell now assembled at *Lyons*, which (with the ill usage of *Martin*) so vexed the Pope, as he is sayd to have uttered these words: *It is fit that we make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soone be troden downe.* Which impious speech proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace and charity ought to be uttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gave warning to Princes of prevention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet ever at one with the Church.

And the Clergy of England were most forward, to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne unto, through the humility of their zeale: For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoever it sits, that finding an yeeldingnesse to endure, it never thinkes it hath power sufficient, unlesse it hath more than enough: For, if the Popes (the professed soveraignes of piety) upon the advantage of mens zeale, and beleefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to be sinne against the Holy Ghost) no marvelle if secular Princes, whose consciences are untied, strive to breake out into the wildnesse of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the State they are placed.

But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of England (which were particularly delivered in this councell at *Lyons*) and despising the Kings message (who, he sayd, began to *Frederize*) it was absolutely here ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of mony should be given to the Pope by any subject of England; and the King, for a time, buittles against the *Foraine* exactions, in such sort as it gave some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wavering nature, and afeard of threats, soone woman-like gives over what he manfully undertooke: so that the Pope continues his former rapine, though having by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promise never to send any more Legats into England, yet employes he other ministers, under the titles of Clerkes, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected underhand his desires.

Now the other part of the State have new occasions of complaint offered. *Peter of Savoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings over certaine maides to be married to young Noble men of England the Kings Wards; of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the same yeare three of the Kings brothers by the mother, *Guy de Lusignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar* Clerke, are sent for over to be provided of estates in England. *Thomas of Savoy* (sometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his

An inquiry about Lands inforrested, which bred great grievance.

An inquiry of the Popes revenues in England.

1245.
Anno
Reg. 29

1246.
Anno
Reg. 30

1247.
Anno
Reg. 31.

Kings, and to our Princes and Iusticiars, who are to governe the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iustice: to you, who are men of quiet and religion, peace and tranquillity; and this day I heare, you have (for your owne good) bene favourable to my request. Iustice and Peace hath kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for withstanding me in the election of William Rale your late Bishop, a man I liked not; but now I am friends with you for this; and will both remember and reward your kindnesse. As by a woman came destruction to the World, so by a woman came the remedy. I to satisfy my wife, desirous to preferre her Uncle William Valentine, disquieted and damnified you; so now, willing to advance my brother, by the Mother, will reconcile my selfe unto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this Citty I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound unto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends hee the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honour and benefit they should have by electing him, but concludes with some threatening. So that the Monk, seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in vaine to deny him, and Athelmar is elected though with this reservation; if the Pope allowed thereof. Shortly after follows the memorable cause of Sir Henry de Bath a Iusticiar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Counsellor to the King, who by corruption had attayned to a mighty Estate, and is sayd in one circuit to have gotten 200. pound land per annum; he is accused by Sir Phillip Darcy of falsehood in the Kings Court, and the King so incensed against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in London, Proclamation is made, that whoeuer had any action or complaint against Henry de Bath, should come and be heard: one of his fellow Iusticiars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage, protesting that whoeuer would kill Henry de Bath should be acquitted for the deede: but afterwards he becomes pacified by the Earle of Cornwall, and the Bishop of London, who urged the danger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Counsell, whom he had used in so great businesse, would discourage others to serve such a Master; who upon malicious accusations should so forsake them, whose places were ever exposed to envy and detraction. And thereupon Sir Henry is released paying 1000. Markes, and after restored to his former place and favour.

The King keeping his Christmas at Yorke, the marriage is solemnized betweene Alexander King of Scots, and Margaret his Daughter, the ryot of which feast with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diseased time) is described by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gave 80 fat Oxen which were spent at one meale; besides, that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the poverty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew that glory, they could finde what they denied at other times.

The Pope solicites the King to undertake the Crosse, and so doth Alphonsus King of Castile: Offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of France. Who having even emptied his Country both of Treasure and Nobility, was now taken prisoner by the Soldian, and held in miserable captivity: A rancome collected for him in France, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easily be had: the captive King offers to restore Normandy to the King of England so hee would come to his rescue. Which, the Nobility of France takes ill and disdain the weakenesse of their King; upon the Popes solicitation and the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy and Layety for three yeares to

The cause of
Sir Henry
Bath.

1251.

Anno
Reg. 35
15 Parli-
ment.

The marriage
of Margaret
with Alexan-
der King of
Scots, solemn-
ized at Yorke.

The King of
France pris-
oner by the
Soldian.

to come, the King of England undertakes the Crosse, rather it seemes to get the mony than with any purpose to performe the journey. Which, had it bene collected, would (saith Paris) have amounted to 600. thousand pound, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both sought, but by severall wayes; for many now began to discover, that the Pope, by this imbarcking the Princes of Christendome in this remote, and consuming warre, to waite them, their Nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power and domination.

The King by Proclamation calls the Londoners to Westminster, and there causes the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, to declare his intentions; and exhort the people to undertake the crosse and attend him; but few are mooved by their perswasions, onely three Knights (and they of no great note) are nominated, whom the King presently, in open view, embraces, kisses and calls brethren, checking the Londoners as ignoble mercenaries, for that few of them were forward in this action; notwithstanding he there takes his Oath for performing of the same, and to set forth presently upon Midsummer day next. In taking his oath, he layes his right hand on his breast (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a Lay man.

A Parliament about this Tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at London, the Bishops are first dealt withall (as being a worke of piety) to induce the rest; they absolutely refuse the same: then the Lords are set upon, they answer: What the Bishops (who were first to give their voyce consent unto) they would allow the same: this shuffling put the King into so great rage as he drave out all that were in his Chamber, as he had been mad. Then falls he to his former course, to perswade them apart, sends first for the Bishop of Eley, deales with him in all milde and kinde manner, recounting the many favours he had received at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to supply his occasions; and intreats him now to give good example to others, &c. The Bishop replies, He was glad at any time to have done him acceptable service, but in this, for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the universality of the state had determined, he held it a dishonest act; and therefore besought his Highnesse he would not urge him therunto, dissuading him from that journey by the example of the King of France, on whom he might see the punishment of God to be fulne; for his rapine made on his peoples substance, wherewith he had now enriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treasure of the Christians transported into those parts.

The King seeing the resolution of this grave Bishop, in great passion commended his servants to thrust him out of doore, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest; and so falls to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for suitors) Isabel Countesse of Arandel (widow) comes unto him about a Warde detained from her, in regard of a small parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) the King, giving her a harsh answer and turning away, she sayd unto him: My Lord, why turne you away your face from Iustice, that we can obtaine no right in your Courts; you are constituted in the midst betwixt God and us; but neither governe your selfe nor us directly as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may: To which speech the King disdainfully replies: Lady Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their advocate and prolocutrix? No Sir, (saith she) they have not made any Charter to me. But the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to observe, and so often extorted from your subjects their mony for the same, you unworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker

The King of
England un-
dertakes the
Crolle.

1252.
Anno
Reg. 36

The Bishops
and Lords de-
ny the King
the tenth
granted by
the Pope

The speech of
Isabel Coun-
tesse of Aran-
del to the king

breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, so often written, so often granted, so often bought? I (though a woman) and with me, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge above; and Heaven and earth shall bee our witnesse, that you have most unjustly dealt with us, and Lord God of revenge, avenge us. Herewithall the King disturbed, asked her if shee expected no grace from him being his kinswoman: How shall I hope for grace, sayd he, when you deny me right? and I appeale before the face of Christ against those Counsellors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne gaine, have bewitched and insatuated you.

The King reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in *Clarken-well*, who comming to complaine of an injury committed against their Charter, the King told him: *The Prelates, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were unadvisedly granted, were with discretion to be revoked; and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause non obstante, and why should not be censure those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors? What say you Sir (sayd the Prior,) God forbid so ill a word should proceede out of your mouth. So long as you observe Iustice you may be a King; and as soone as you violate the same, you shall leave to be a King.*

The Fryer Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That he ought not to give Almes of what he had rent from the poore, neither would they accept of that abominable gift. With these and many such like bolde encounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subjects) is this King affronted: to shew us the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loofe his reputation, and the love of his people, whereby they both have their vexations.*

Strangers commit ryots.

And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of *Hartford* to a Parke of the Bishop of *Eley*, lying neare his Manner of *Hatfield*, where after having spoyled much game he enters into the Bishops house, and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore being strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence than this was offered to an Officiall of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both and gave them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King comming as a guest to the Abbot of *S. Albans*, violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other injuries are reported by our Authorth to have bene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made, of that time, wherein, this was said to be the usuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is given to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers*, which notwithstanding the King seeks still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolisme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare*) Earle of *Gloucester*, a man eminent, and dearely loved of the Nobility; Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Country; the King promises her a dowry of five thousand Markes, which he sought to borrow of divers, but could not.

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The City of London is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000 Markes; and the *Gascoignes* being upon revolt (unlesse speedy remedy were taken) generall mufters are made, and commandement given, that whosoever could dispend thirteene pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horseman. This with the extreame wants of the King, occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes, wisely to consider, that all their oppositions did no good, the Kings turne must be served one way or other, some must pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars, it was farre more heavy than it could be in generall; and therefore they agreed to releve him, rather by the usuall way, than force him to those extravagant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of the government and ratification of their Lawes, might be once againe solemnly confirmed.

And after fiftene dayes consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, upon his setting forth, be distributed for three yeares; and Scutage, three Markes of every Knights fee, by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemn and ceremoniall manner, as Religion and State could ever devise to doe.

The King with all the great Nobility of England, all the Bishops & chiefe Prelates in their reverend Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands, assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King having received one in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, *It becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony*, and withall, laid his hand spread on his breast the whole time the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Autoritate dei omnipotentis, &c.* which done, he caused the Charter of King *Iohn* his Father, granted by his free consent to be likewise openly read. In the end, having throwne away their candles, (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, & stinke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce said: *As God me helpe I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned and annoynted, inviolably observe all these things.* And therewithall the Bells rung out, and all the people shouted with joy.

Never were Lawes amongst men (except those holy Commandements from the Mount) established with more majesty of ceremony, to make them reverend and respected than were these: they wanted but thunder and lightning from heaven (which if prayers could have procured, they would likewise have had) to make the sentence gastly and hideous to the infringers thereof. The greatest security that could be given was an Oath (the onely chaine on earth, besides love to tye the conscience of a man and humane society together) which, should it not hold us, all the frame of government and other must needs fall quite asunder.

Now the businesse of *Gascoigne* (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, wee must returne to the head whence it sprung: twenty seven yeares past, the King by the counsell of the Lords, freely granted to his brother *Richard* II that Province, who is there received as their Lord, with their oathes of fealty made unto him; and so continues, untill the King (having issue of his own, by motion of the Queene) revokes his gift, and confers it upon the eldest son *Edward*. *Richard*, though he were deprived of the possessions, would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in *Gascoigne*, many of them stood doubtfull whom to attend; the King

A Tenth and Scutage granted by Parliament.

1253.
Anno
Reg. 37

The King resumes *Gascoigne* from his brother *Richard*, gives it to his sonne Prince *Edward*.

in

in great displeasure commanded his brother to resigne his Charter, and renounce his right, which he refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeaux* to take and imprison him; but they (in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, & the Kings mutability, who might repent his own commandement) would not adventure thereon. Then he assailes them with money, which effected more than his commandement: The Earle is in danger to be surpris'd, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes over into *England*.

The King assembles the Nobility of *Gascoigne* at *Burdeaux*; inveighes against his brother: *A man*, said he, *was covetous and a great oppressour, a large promiser, but a spare payer; and that hee would provide them of a better Governour*: Withall, promises them thirty thousand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes thereof fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make unto him, till he had inwrapt himselfe both by his Charter & Oath for this promised summe: whereunto they so held him, as thereby afterward they lost his love. And to be revenged on them, he sends *Simon Monfort* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and martiall man, to master their pride: makes him a Charter for six yeares to come, and furnishes him with 1000 Markes the better to effect his command. *Monfort* by his sterne government so discontentes the *Gascoignes*, as after three yeares suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of haynous crimes: Their greevances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is sent for over, to answer for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornwall* for his received wrong in those parts, and the Lords of *England* for their love to him, take *Monforts* part; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to favour and countenance the *Gascoignes* against *Monfort*; not for his love to them, but to awe and abate the other. Whereupon *Monfort* enters into undutifull contestation with the King, upbraides him with his expencefull service: wherein he sayes, hee had utterly consumed his Estate: And how the King had broken his word with him; and requires him either to make it good according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to be observed with an unworthy Traytor: Wherewith *Monfort* rises up protesting, that he lyed in that word, & were he not protected by his Royall dignity, he would make him repent it. The King commands his servants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who will beleieve you are a Christian? were you ever confessed? if you were, it was without repentance and satisfaction. The King told him, he never repented him of any thing so much, as to have permitted him to enter into his kingdome, and to have honoured and instated him as he had done.

The *Gascoignes* after this, are privately sent for by the King, who gives them all comfort, and encourages them against *Monfort*, whom yet he would againe send over to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better be revenged on him; and withall confirms the state of *Gascoigne* to his son *Edward*, whom he promised them shortly to send over, wherewith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused and ill-packt businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Monfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great alliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, he over-matches the *Gascoignes*, whose estates he exposes to spoyle, and therewithall entertaines

Simon Monfort
Earle of *Leicester*
sent into
Gascony.

Monforts contestation
with the King.

Monfort returned
to his
charge.

entertaines great collected Armies. They againe send over their complaints, and unlesse they were speedily releaved, they of force must put their Country into some other hand, that would protect them.

And in this state stood *Gascoigne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, upon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprise) goes with 300 Sayle of great ships, and lands at *Burdeaux* in August, Anno Reg. 38. having first deposed *Simon Monfort* from the government there, and makes voide this Charter by proclamation. *Monfort* retires from thence, & is offered entertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Governour. For they having put themselves under the protection of the King of *Spain*; who being so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Country strong; caused the King of *England* with more haste and care to look to his worke; and the rather, for that the King of *Spain* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might be the more secure, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* and his sister *Elionor*, whereunto the King of *Spain* willingly consents.

The King of *England* keeps his Christmas at *Burdeaux*. The Queene sends him a new-yeares-gift of 500 Markes, and the next Summer, with the Prince goes over unto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* knights the Prince, and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him and his successors for ever. The King of *England* invests the Prince and his wife therein, and besides gives unto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford* & *Grantham*. This businesse dispatched, the King prepares to returne, having consumed all whatsoever hee could get in his journey, which with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to have cost him twenty seven hundred thousand pounds, and was said to be more than all the Lands he had there (should they be sold) were worth; which, when hee was told, he willed it might not be revealed in publick to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea, he obtaines leave of the King of *France* (lately returned from captivity) to passe through his Countrey; and comes to *Paris* with a 1000 Horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where hee staves eight dayes, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queenes sisters, and their other two sisters the Countesse of *Cornwall* and *Provence* (who were likewise afterward Queenes) was made the more triumphant and splendidous. The King about Christmas arrives in *England*, and the first that paid for his coming home were the *Londoners* and the *Jewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100 pounds, were returned without thanks: then being perswaded, that plate would be better welcome, they bestowed 200 pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thanks, but yet served not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner, for which they pay 3000 Markes. Now complains he of his debts, which he sayes to be 300000 Markes, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15000 Markes per annum, and money must be had howsoever. First, he begins to seive his present turne with loanes, and borrowes great summes of the Earle of *Cornwall*, upon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the *Jewes*, he lets them out to Farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returns of greevances, and complaint of breach of Charter, with requiring their

The King goes
over into *Gascony*
with
300 great
ships.

Alliance with
the King of
Spain.

1254.
Anno
Reg. 38
Prince *Edward*
marries *Elionor*
sister to the
king of *Spain*.

King *Henry*
comes to *Paris*
with 1000
horse, is feasted
by the King of
France.

He returnes
into *England*,
fines the *Londoners*.

1275.
Anno
Reg. 41
16 Parliament
adjourned.

Pope Alex. 4.

Edmond the
Kings second
son is promi-
sed the king-
dome of Sicile.

their former pretended rights in electing the Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued till Michaelmas after, when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres, being not, as was alleadged, summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge and dislike arise: *Thomas Earle of Sauoy*, the Queenes brother hath warres with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supplied by the King and Queene, & his brother *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toledo*, brother to the King of *Spain* with other great men come over, lye at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Eleanor* the Princes wife arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and shee must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in sumptuous manner; and her people after many Feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of investiture, to *Edmond* the second sonne for the kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which kingdome his predecessour *Innocent* the fourth had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Rustandus* with power to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the use of the Pope and the King, and to absolve him from his Oath for the holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy *Manfred* son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the kingdome of *Sicile* & *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*: but yet he obtained not what hee came for, of the Clergy, who protested, rather to lose their lives and livings, than to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who, they said, were as the Sheapheard and the Wolfe combined to macerate the Flock.

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of *Cornwall* 500 Markes, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *He would not lend his money to one on whom he could not distraine*. So this project came to nothing, though all meanes were used to draw it on. Newes was spread that *Manfreds* Forces were utterly defeated, & himselfe either slaine or taken prisoner: wherewith the King is so much joyed, as he presently vowes with all speede to make an expedition thither, and gives his sonne *Edmond* no other Title but King of *Sicile*. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes proves false, and the contrary is notified. *Manfred* is victorious, and the Popes power defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should give away their Countrey (without their consent) to an unknowne Stranger, as with all their maine power they joyne to establish *Manfred*, who is now found to be the legitimate sonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a strong sword will make howsoever.

The King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where the Merchants of *Gascoigne* having their wines taken from them by the Kings Officers, without due satisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and shew him, *How they were better to trade with Sarazins and Infidels, than thus to be used here, as they were*. The Prince addresseth him to his Father, and craves redresse herein, but the Officers having bene with the King before to prevent the clamours of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *How they falsely exclaime, relying wholly upon the Princes favour, who took upon him their unjust cause (and that there ought to be but one in England, to whom the ordering of justice appertained)* put him into so great a rage with the Prince, as he breaks out into these words: *See now my blood & mine owne bowels impagne me, behold my son, as my brother*

The complaint
of the Mer-
chants of
Gascoigne.

An ill Office
of Officers.

brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather Henry the second, are againe renewed, what will become of us? But this passion being allayed by Counsell, he dissembles the matter, and gives order, that these injuries should be redressed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying infused into Kings, who are of themselves too apprehensive in that kinde, being a thing that soone turnes the blood.

And now to adde to the misery of these times, there are new mischiefs committed by the insolence of the Servants of the Prince, who being himselfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent spirits, many strangers, and men without meanes, who, wheresoever he went, made spoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatsoever they could fasten on, to the extreame vexation of the subject. And they report, how this Prince meeting a young man travailling on the way, caused one of his eares to be cut off, and one of what he would prove hereafter. And indeed, had he not bene endued with an innated noblenesse of nature (which, with his long experience in travaile and great actions overcame the vices, the loosenesse of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might have proved as bad as any other. For, unlesse Princes of themselves, by instinction from above be indued with a naturall goodnesse, they shall gaine litle by their education, wherein they are rather shewed what they are, than what they should be; and are apter to learne to know their greatnesse than themselves; being everfoothed in all whatsoever they doe.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous traine (which are said to be more ravenous than those which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welsh* (of whom he had now the government) into open act of rebellion, and to make spoyle of the *English*, as he did of them: wherupon he craves meanes of his Father, the Queene, and his Vncle *Richard* to suppress them. But all was vented already, the Kings Treasure was gone over the *Alpes*, Earle *Richard* had lent more than he could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had spent that of the Queene.

The King is still at his shifts to supply his everlasting necessities. Now he comes himselfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voyce pronounced, *That every Shrieve which appeared not yearly in the Octaves of S. Michel, with his money, as well of his Farmer as amercements and other dues: for the first day should be amerced five Markes, for the second ten, for the third fifteen, for the fourth to be redeemed at the Kings pleasure. In like sort, that all Cities and Freedomes which answer by their Bayliffes, upon the same default should be amerced, and the fourth day to lose their freedomes, besides every Sherife throughout England is amerced at five Markes, for that they did not distraine within their Countreys upon whomsoever held 10 pound land per annum, and came not to bee made Knight, or freed by the King. Then falls he to the examination of measures for Wine and Ale, for Bushels and Weights, which likewise brought in some small thing, and every yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets some thing of them.*

But now there fell out a busines that entertained some time, and gave occasion to amaze the world with conceit of some great advantage and honour to the kingdome, by the election of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, to be King of the *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, & by them is he sent for to receive that Crown: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence necessary to sway busi-
nesses.

Insolencies
committed by
the Princes
servants.

The Earle of
Cornwall ele-
cted King of
the *Romans*.

nesses in the kingdome, were unwilling and dissuade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry the Lantgrave of Turing*, & *William Earle of Holland*, but others, & especially the King (who was willing to be ridde of him, as one he had often found too great for a subject; and being a King abroad he might make use of him) perswades to take it upon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

But the *German Writers* (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare, how after the murder of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were divided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to uphold their ancient custome in electing one of their owne Countrey, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declining State, which was more politick. Long were the conflicts of their Counsels: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselves, some would have *Richard* brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonse* King of *Spaine*, both of them not only contending who should have it, but who should give most to buy it: in the end *Richard* being nearest at hand, and his money the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Alençon*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palsgrave*, whose voyces he is said to have bought, and afterward is crowned at *Aquisgrane*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, he proceedes in all violent and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his election; & having consumed himselfe both by his excessive gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it.

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and *Sir John Mansell*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Archbishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him over, on whom the Earle bestowes 500 Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall* is reported able to dispend 100 Markes a day for ten yeares, besides his revenues in *England*.

The *French*, and especially the King of *Spaine*, are much displeased with this advancement, complaining to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to have beene first elected, but being, it seemes, a Philosopher, and studious in the Mathematicks (which he first revived in *Europe*) he was drawing lines when he should have drawne out his purse, and so came prevented of his hopes.

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the jollity of the kingdome upon this new promotion, and to set forward another) the King calls a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond* clad in an *Apulian* habit) he uses these words: Behold my good subjects, heere my sonne *Edmond* whom God of his grace hath called to the dignity of Regall excellencie, how fitting and worthy is he the favour of you all, and how inhumane and tyrannous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him counsell and ayde? And then shewes them, how by the advise and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for attaining the kingdome of *Sicile* bound himselfe, under covenant of losing his kingdome of *England*, in the summe of 140 thousand Markes. Moreover, how he had obtained the tenth of the Clergy, for three yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new

Richard crowned at Aquisgrane.

1257.

Anno

Reg. 41

15 Parliament

new rate, without deduction of expences unlesse very necessary: besides their first Fruits likewise for three yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be judged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, they promised upon the usuall condition of *Magna Charta*, &c. so often sworne, bought and redeemed, to give 52 thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.

The next yeare after is another Parliament at *London*, wherein, upon the Kings pressing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: They will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if unadvisedly hee without their consents and counsell bought the kingdome of *Sicile*, and had beene deceived, he should impute it to his owne imbecillity, and be contented by the example of his provident brother, who, when the same kingdome was offered unto him by *Albert the Popes Agent*, absolutely refused it, in regard it lay so farre off; so many Nations betweene: the cavills of the Popes: the infidelity of the people; and the power of the pretender, &c. Then repeat they their owne greivances, The breach of his promises; condemning both the keys of the Church, and the Charter he had solemnly sworne to observe: the insolence of his brethren and other strangers, against whom, by his order, no Writ was to passe out of the Chancery for any cause whatsoever: How their pride was intolerable, especially that of *William de Valence*, who most reproachfully had given the lye to the Earle of *Leicester*, for which he could not be righted upon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himselfe was so poore, as hee could not repress the same forces of the Welch that wasted his Countrey, but going the last yeare against them and effecting nothing, returned with dishonour. The King hearing this, (as he was apt upon rebukes soundly urged to be sensible, and his owne necessities constraining him thereunto) humbles himselfe, and tels them: How hee had often by ill counsell beene seduced, and promises by his oath, which hee takes on the tombe of *S. Edward*, to reforme all these errors. But the Lords not knowing how to hold their ever-changing Proteus (faith *Paris*) in regard the businesse was difficult, get the Parliament to be adjourned till *S. Barnabas* day; and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In the meane time the Earles *Glocester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Earle Marshall, *Bigod*, *Spencer*, and other great men confederate, and provide by strength to effect their desire. Whilest the King put to his shifts to obtaine money; getsthe Abbot of *Westminster*, upon promise of high preferment to put his Seale, and that of his Covent to a deede obligatory, as a surety for three hundred Markes, that by his example he might draw on others to doe the like. Sending his trusty Counsellors and Clerke *Simon Passleue* abroad with his Letters; and this Deede unto other Monasteries. But *Passleue*, notwithstanding all the diligence and skill he could use by threatnes or otherwise; telling them, How all they had come from the benignity of Kings; and how their Sovereigne was Lord of all they had, they flatly refuse to yeeld to any such Deede; saying, they acknowledged the King to be Lord of all they had, but so, as to defend, not to destroy the same. And thus he comes likewise disappointed in this project.

The Prince, who likewise must participate in the wants of his Father, was driven to mortgage the Towne of *Stamford*, *Braham*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, who out of his store supplied him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it laid a recentment on the necessity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and envy on the other, whose superfluity made him odious.

But now comes assembled the Parliament at *Oxford*, and in a hot season,

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(the

52 Thousand Markes, upon conditions promised by the Clergy.

1258.

Anno
Reg. 42

Prince Edward mortgages Stamford and other townes to William de Valence.

The Barons
expostulate for
their former
liberties.

Cron. Lichfield,
Henry eldest
sonne to the
King of Ro-
mans refused to
take his oath
Glau. 49. H. 3.

Mat. Par.

(the worst time for consultation) and here burst out that great impostume of discontent so long in gathering. The traine which the Lords brought with them was pretended to be for some exploit against the Welsh, upon the end of the Parliament; and their securing the ports to prevent Forrainers; but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of London, and their Oathes and hands given to each other, shewed, that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they begin with the expostulation of the former liberties, and require the observation thereof, according unto the Oathes and Orders formerly made. The chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer to be ordained by publick choyce: The twenty foure Conservators of the kingdome to be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King, with whatsoever else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnly to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

But the Lords left not here; the Kings brethren, the Poitounins and other strangers must be presently removed, and the kingdome cleared of them, and this they would have all the Peeres of the Land iworne to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle Warreine and Henry eldest sonne to Richard now King of Romanes, the last refusing to take his Oath without leave of his Father, they plainly told him, *That if his Father would not consent with the Baronage in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England.* In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by proscription, under the Kings owne hand, directed to the Earles of Hereford and Surrey, with charge not to passe either their Money, Armes, Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoyne the City of Bristol, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to arrive, unless they did so behave themselves, as both he and the Lords should like.

The Poitounins retiring to Bolagne in France send to King Louys, to crave safe passage through his Country into Poitou, which (in regard the Queene of France had bene informed how they had defamed her sister of England) was, by her meanes denied at that time, and Henry sonne to the Earle of Leicester (whose estimation was great in France) follows them with all eager- nesse thither, to incense the French against them. And as they whom Envy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure ever to have all the thrusts possible to set them headlong into disgrace with the world; so now the death and sicknesse of divers great men and others happening in England soone after this fatal Parliament, is imputed to poysons suppoied to have bene prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of Gloucester in a sicknesse suddenly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; and his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their neere servants, and the Cookes, Walter Scoyny the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed upon presumptions at Winchester. Elias a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poyson was confected, but it was when he was a Devill, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serves the turne. Every man that had received any wrong by those great men, now put up their complaints and are heard, to the aggravation of their insolence and injustice. Guido de Rochfort a Poitounin, to whom the King had given the Castle of Rochester, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. William Bussy Seward to William de Valence, is committed to the Towre of London, and most reproachfully used, as an especi-

all

all Minister of his Masters insolencies. Richard Gray whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of Dover, is set to intercept whatsoever the Poitounins conveyed that way out of England, and much treasure of theirs, and the cleat of Winchester is by him there taken; besides, great summes committed to the new Temple are found out, and seised into the Kings hands. And, as usually in such heates, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-governed people thinke they are not forgotten) the new Chiefe Iusticiar Hugh Bigod brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publicke voyce) procures that foure Knights in every shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and under their hands and seales certifie the same by a certaine day to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreover order was taken, that from thenceforth no man should give any thing (besides provisions) for justice, or to hinder the same, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grievously punished. Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords enforced the services of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were totidem tyranni: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the common State, and tooke the like assurance of all Sherifes, Baylives, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many strict Commissioners upon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the Kings necessity must be repaired out of the Estates of his people, and how he must not want whilst they had it; whereupon the King sends forth proclamation: *How certaine malicious persons had falsely and seditiously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his subjects and subvert the Lawes and liberties of the kingdome, and by these subtile suggestions, altogether false, averted the hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them, not to give credit to such perturburs; for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due unto them; and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his Letters to be made Patents.*

But now Monfort, Gloucester, and Spencer, who had by the late institution of the twenty foure Conservators, drawne the intire managing of the kingdome into their hands, inforce the King to call the Parliament at London, where the authority of the twenty foure is delivered unto themselves, and order taken, that three at the least should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custody of Castles, and other businesses of the kingdome, of the Chancellour, chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasurer, and of all Officers great and small. And here they bind the King to loofe to them their Legall obedience whenever he infringed his Charter.

In this state stood the kingdome, when intelligence was given to the Lords, that Richard King of Romanes had a purpose to come over into England, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) lest he were sent for by the King to come with power to subvert them, by the example of King John. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his coming, and to require of him an oath before he should land, not to prejudice the now established orders of the kingdome: which he steernly refuses to doe, saying: *He had no Peere in England being the sonne and brother of a King, and was above their power; and if they would have reformed the kingdome, they ought first to have sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a business of so high a nature.* The Lords upon returne of this answer send presently to guard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to encounter him

Reg. 17. in Scacc.
14. Rishanger

1252.

Anno

Reg. 42

15 Parliament
at London.
Ordinat. inter
Record. Civit.
Lond.
Licet omnibus
de Regno nostro
contra nos in-
surgere. Et ad
gravamen no-
strum operam et
operam dare ac
si nobis in nullo
teneantur.
Char. Orig. sub
Sigillo.
The Lords re-
quire an Oath
of him.

him if occasion were offered. But finding his traine small, accompanied only with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, receive him to Land; but would neither permit the King, (who came likewise thither to meete him) nor himselfe to enter into Dover Castle. At Canterbury they bring him into the Chapter-house, where the Earle of Gloucester standing forth in the midst, calls out the Earle, not by the name of King, but Richard Earle of Cornwall, who in reverent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall, doe here sweare upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithfull and diligent to reforme with you the kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked persons over-much disordered; be an effectuall Coadjutor, to expell the Rebels and Disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inviolably observe under paine of losing all the Land I have in England; So helpe me God.

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle unto them, supposing his power to have beene more than it was, which at length they found to be nothing but an ayrie Title; for having consumed all that mighty substance abroad in two yeares (which with great frugality had beene many in gathering) he returnes in this manner home, poore, and forsaken by the Germans, without any other meanes to trust unto, but only what hee had in England.

Notwithstanding upon his returne the King takes heart, & seeks all meanes to vindicate his power, dispatching first messengers secretly to Rome, to be absolved from his enforced Oath, then sends into Scotland to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to be ready upon his occasions. And to have the more assurance of the King of France, and be freed from forraine businesse, he makes an absolute resignation of whatsoever right he had to the Duchy of Normandy, and the Earldomes of Anjou, Poitou, Tourene, and Maine, in regard whereof the King of France gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crownes) of Anjouine money, and grants him to enjoy all Guien beyond the River Garonne, all the Countrey of Xantonge to the River of Charente, the Countries of Limosin and Quercy for him and his successors doing their homage and fealty to the Crown of France, as a Duke of Aquitaine, and a Peere of that kingdome.

The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and observations of their Orders, which was hard to doe: for consisting of manifold dispositions, there was daily wavering, sometimes Pikes among themselves, in so much as the Earle of Leicester (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of Gloucester finding him staggering, *That he cared not to live with such men, whom he found so mutable and uncertaine, for said he, my Lord of Gloucester, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you have undertaken for the good of the kingdome.* And as he incensed others, so had he those that animated him, as Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert Bishop of Lincoln, who injoynd him upon remission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause unto death, affirming, *How the peace of the Church of England could never be established but by the materiall sword.*

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence given against them by the King of France, made Arbitrator of the quarrell, who yet though hee condemned the provisions of Oxford, allowed the confirmation of King Johns Charter: by which

The Oath of the King of Romans.

1259.
Anno
Reg. 44
Here begins
Normandy, &c.

1261.
Anno
Reg. 45

The Lords combine against the King.

W. R. R. R. R.

distinction he left the matter as he found it: for those provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter. Howsoever, his sentence much advantaged the King of England, and made many to dispenche with their Oath, and leave their party. Amongst whom was Henry sonne to the Earle of Cornwall, (on whom the Prince had bestowed the Honour of Tychb. H.) who comming to the Earle of Leicester told him, hee would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allies: but said he, My Lord, I will never beare Armes against you; and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earle chearefully replies: My Lord Henry, I am not sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancie, goe, returne with your Armes, I feare them not at all. About the same time Roger Clifford, Roger de Leuborne, Hamo l' Strange, and many other (won with gifts) depart from the Barons.

Shortly after Roger de Mortimer of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the Lands of the Earle of Leicester, who had now combined himselfe with Llewellyn Prince of Wales, and had sent Forces to invade the Lands of Mortimer in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about three yeares after the Parliament at Oxford. The Prince takes part with Mortimer, surprises the Castle of Brecknock: with other places of strength, which he delivers to his custody. The Earle of Leicester recovers the Towne and Castle of Gloucester, constraines the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to Worcester, possesses him of the Castle, thence to Shrewsbury, and so comes about to the Isle of Eley, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

The King doubting his approach to London (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed upon these conditions: *That all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the provisions of Oxford, should be inviolably observed: All strangers by a certaine time should avoide the kingdome, except such as by a generall consent, should be held faithfull and profitable for the same.* Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle, victualled, and therein placed strangers to defend it, and himselfe marches to the Towne of Bristow, where in a contention betweene the Citizens and his people, being put to the worfe, hee sends for the Bishop of Worcester (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect and conduct him back. When hee comes neere Windsor, hee gets into the Castle, which the Earle of Leicester comes to besiege, and being about Kingstone, the Prince meetes him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes siege to the Castle, that was rendred unto him, the strangers turned out, and sent home into France.

The King to get time convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince Richard Earle of Cornwall, Henry his sonne, William Valence, with the rest of his brethren lately returned) he marches to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repaire to him, as John Comin, John Baliol; Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce and others; with many Barons of the North, Clifford, Percy, Basset, &c. From Oxford with all his Forces he goes to Northampton, where hee tooke prisoners Simon de Monfort the younger, with fourteen other principall men; thence to Nottingham, making spoyle of such possessions as appertained to the Barons in those parts.

The Earle of Leicester in the meane time drawes towards London, to recover and make good that part, as of chiefe importance, and seekes to secure Kent and the Ports; which hastes the King to stop his proceeding, and succour the Castle of Rochester besieged.

Suc.

1262.
Anno
Reg. 46

1263.
Anno
Reg. 47

The beginning of the Wars.

1264.
Anno
Reg. 48
16 Parliament

17 Parliament held at London.

Scottish Lords come to ayde the King of England.

Successe and authority now grows strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester*, *Gloicester* in behalfe of themselves, and their party write to the King, humbly protesting their loyalty, And how they opposed onely against such as were enemies to him and the kingdome, and had belied them. The King returns answer; how themselves were the perturburs of him & his state: enemies to his person, and fought his and the kingdomes destruction, and therefore defies them. The Prince and the Earle of *Cornwall* send likewise their letters of defiance unto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or unwilling to put it to the hazard of a battaile, mediate a peace, and send the Bishops of *London* and *Worcester* with an offer of 30 thousand Markes to the King, for dammages done in these warres, so that the statutes of *Oxford* might be observed; which yeeldingnesse the other side supposing to argue their debility, made them the more neglective, and securer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker side (more watchfull of advantages) to have the better.

The Earle, seeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man skillfull in his worke) takes his time to be earlier ready than was expected, and supplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the side of a Hill neere *Lewes*, where this Battaille was fought, certaine ensignes without men, in such sort as they might seeme a farre off, to be squadrons of succors to second those he brought to the encounter, whom he caused all to wear white crosses, both for their owne notice, and the signification of his cause, which hee would have to be for Iustice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arun-dell*, *Hereford*, and all the *Scottish* Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warreine*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Bigod* Earle Marshall, save themselves by flight, five thousand are slaine in this de-feite, which yet was not all the blood and destruction this businesse cost.

All this yeare and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monfort* in possession of his prisoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the strongest Castles of the Kingdome. And now (as it usually falls out in confederations where all must be pleased or else the knot will dissolve) debate arises betweene the Earles of *Leicester* and *Gloicester* about their dividend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as fortune makes men to forget themselves) is taxed to doe more for his owne particular, than the common good: to take to himselfe the benefit and disposition of the Kings Castles: to usurpe the redemption of prisoners at his pleasure, to prolong the businesse, and not to use the meanes of a Parliament to end it: his sonnes also presuming upon his greatnesse, grow insolent, which made *Gloicester* to forsake that side, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Castle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him of such as attended the opportunity of turning Fortune, and to revenge the dishonour of one battaile by another.

The revolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of strength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leicester*, to stop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his Army about *Worcester*, imbattailes in a Plain neere *Evesham*, to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of his Army, said to those about him: *These men come bravely on, they learne it not of themselves, but of me. And seeing himselfe likely to be beset, and overlaid with numbers, advised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and others to shift for themselves;* which when he saw they refused to doe, then said he, *Let us com-*

com-

...and for our bodies are theirs, and so undertaking the maine weight of the Battaille, portulied under id. And with him are slaine his sonne *Henry*, eleven other Barons with many thousands of common souldiers. At the instant of his death, there hapned so terrible a thunder, lightning and darkness, as it gave them as much honour as their hideous worke. And *Islands* *Monfort* this great Earle of *Leicester* was a great favour for a subject, which had he not bene, he might have bene numbered amongst the worthiest of his time. Howsoever, the people which honoured, and followed him in his life, would upon the name of his miracles, have worshipped him for a Saint after his death; but it would not be permitted by Kings. And here this Battaille delivers the Captive King; (but yet with the losse of some of his owne as well as his subjects blood, by a wound casually receivd in the thigh) and made him of his taylor *Monfort*, whom hee hated and long feared more than any man living, as himselfe confessed upon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament at *Oxford* upon *Thames*, there hapned a suddaine clap of thunder, wherewith the King was much affrighted, and willed presently to be set on shore at the next landing; which was at *Windsore* house, where *Monfort* then lay, who seeing the King arriving, hasts downe to meete him, and perceiving him to be troubled at the storme, says, *Let us neede not now to feare, the danger was past. No, Monfort, said the King, I feare thee more than I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the world.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repaire to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The *Londoners* have their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, sonnes of the Earle of *De-cesster*, with the disinherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaille of *Evesham*, take and defend the Isle of *Eley*. The Castle of *Killingworth* defended by the servants of thalke Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the siege of halfe a yeare against the King and his Army. In the end their Victualls fayling, they yeeld upon condition to depart, their lives, members and goods saved. And it is worthy the note that we finde no execution of blood, except in open battaile, in all these combustions, nor any noble man to dye on a Scaffold, either in this Kings reigne, or any other since *William the first*, which is now almost 300. yeares. Onely in *Anno 26.* of this King *William Marisc*, the sonne of *Geffery Marisc* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Pyracie and treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; and is the first example of that kind of punishment we finde in our Histories.

After the Parliament at *Westminster* the King goes with an Army against the disinherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute and desperate persons strongly fastned together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by mediation of Friends, and promises of Favour, came in and submitted themselves to the King, who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of *Cornwall* their Vncle, and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, had restored them to their estates, but for *Gloicester*, and others who (doubting their spirits) wrought to hold them downe, where their Fortune had layd them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their Fortunes other where, which they did, the yongest in *Italy*, the elder in *France*: Where there were propagators of two great Families. Their mother was banished shortly after the battaile of *Evesham*. A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and sister of a King, nocent onely by her Fortune, who from the Carant of miserable glory, tooke her to the waile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at *Montargis* in *France*.

The Barons
mediate a
peace.

The battaile
of *Lewes*.

The King,
Prince and
others taken
prisoners.

1265.
Anno
Reg. 49

Monfort taxed
of wrong.

The Earle of
Gloicester leaves
him.

The Earle
Monfort
slaine.

1266.

Anno
Reg. 50

18 Parliament
held at *Win-*
chester.
All who tooke
part with
Monfort dis-
inherited.

Motions of
peace made to
the dis-inher-
ited Lords.

1267.

Anno

Reg. 51.

The Earle of
Glocester
revolts.

19 Parlia-
ment.

Three yeares after this, the dis-inherited Barons held out in those fastnesses of the Kingdome where they could best defend themselves, made many excursions and spoyle to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions and conditions of tender are proposed, wherein the Councell are divided. *At this time now an eminent man in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the dis-inherited, are averse to any restoration, alledging it a great act of injustice, for them to be forced to forgive what the King had done their guines and fidelity bestowed on them, and the other justly forfeited, and therefore would hold what they had.* Gloucester with the twelve ordained to deale for the peace of the state, and other his Friends which were many, stand maittely for restoration. This caused new pikes of displeasure, in so much as Gloucester, who conceiving his turning, not so to serve his turne as hee expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on S. Edwards day: Sends messengers to warne the King, To remove strangers from his Councell, and observe the provisions of Oxford according to his last promise made at Evesham; otherwise that he should not merwaile, if himselfe did what he thought fit. Thus had victory no peace, the distemperature of the time was such, as no sword could cure it; recourse is had to Parliament (the best way if any would serve, for remedy) and at Bury is the state convoked, where likewise all who held by Knights service are summoned to assemble, with sufficient horse & armour for the vanquishing of those dis-inherited persons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Isle of Eley, John de Warrene Barle of Surrey, and William de Valencey, are sent to persuade the Earle of Gloucester (who had now levied an Army upon the Borders of Wales) to come, in faire mannere to this Parliament, which he refuses to doe, but yet thus much the Barles had of him under his hand and seale: *Never to beare arms against the King, or his sonne Edward, but to defend himselfe, and pursue Roger Mortimer, and other his enemies, for which he pretended to have taken Armes.* The first demand in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat; for the grann of a Tenth of the Clergy for three yeares to come, and for the yeares past, so much as they gave the Barons for defending the Coast against the landing of strangers. Where to they answer, that the War was begonne by unjust desires, which yet continues, and necessary it were to let passe so evil demands, and so treat of the peace of the Kingdome; to convert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort mony, considering the land had beene so much destroyed by this Warre, as it could hardly be ever recovered. 2. Then was it required, that the Clergy might be taxed by lay men, according to the just value of what appertained unto them. They answer, it was no reason, but against all Justice, that Lay-men should entermeddle in collecting Tenth, which they would never consent unto, but would have the ancient taxation to stand. 3. Then was it required, they should give the Tenth of their Baronies and lay Fee, according to the utmost value. They answer: themselves were impoverished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay untild by reason of the Wars. 4. Then it was required, that the Clergy should in lieu of a Tenth give amongst them 30. thousand Markes to discharge the Kings debts contracted for Sicilia, Calabria, and Apulia. They answer: they would give nothing in regard all those taxations, and extortions formerly made by the King were never converted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome. 5. All this being denyed, demand is made, That all Clergy men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee should personally serve in the Kings Warres. They answer, they were not to fight with the materiall, but the spirituall sword, &c. that their Baronies were given of meere almes, &c. 6. Then was it required the whole clergy should

discharge

discharge the 9000. pounds, which the Bishops of Rochester, Bath, & the Abbot of Westminster stood bound to the Popes Merchants for the King service at their being at the Court of Rome. They answer: they never consented to any such lone, and therefore were not bound to discharge it. 7. Then the Legat, from the part of the Pope required, that without delay predication should bee made throughout the Kingdome to incite men to take the Crosse for the Holy Warre: whereunto answer was made, that the greatest part of the people of the Land were already consumed by the sword, and that if they should undertake this action, few or none would be left to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby shewed a desire to extirpate the natives thereof, and introduce strangers. 8. Lastly, it was urged, that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demands by their oath at Coventrie; where they swore to ayde him by all means possible they could. They answer: that when they took that oath, they understood no other ayde, than spirituall and wholesome Counsell. So nothing was obtained but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat likewise employes sollicitors to perswade the dis-herited L. L. which held the Isle of Eley, to return to the faith, and unity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the form provided at Coventry, for redeeming their inheritances from such as held them by gift from the King for seven yeares profits, and to leave off their robberies. The dis-herited returne answer to the Legat. First, that they held the faith, they received from their Catholicke Fathers, and their obedience to the Roman Church, as the head of all Christianity; but not to the avarice and wilfull exaction of those who ought to governe the same. And how their Predecessors (whose heires they were, having conquered this Land by the sword) they held themselves unjustly dis-herited, that it was against the Popes mandme, they should be so dealt withall.

That they had formerly taken their Oathes to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same, and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their lives. And seeing they warred for the Benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their lives by the goods of their enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cause to be restored unto them, that they might not be driven to make depredation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the Kings and Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies, which to make them odious, were imputed, and given out to be done by them; wherefore they wish the Legat to give no credit to such reports: for if they should finde any such amongst them, they would themselves doe Justice upon them without delay.

Besides, they declare to the Legat, that he had irreverently ejected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of Winchester, London and Chester, men circumspect and of deepe judgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdome was in great part weakened to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might be restored to their Lands without redemption. That the provisions of Oxford might be observed. That they might have hostages delivered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for five yeares to come, untill they might perceiv how the King would performe his promises.

Thus they treat, not like men whom their Fortunes had layd on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: So much wrought cyther the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornesse so exasperates the King, as the next yeare following, he prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them up, and Prince Edward, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in divers places, and constraines them to

R 2

yeeld.

The Earle of
Glocester re-
conciled.

yeeld. In the meane time the Earle of *Glocester*, with his Army collected on the borders of *Wales* to ayde them, marched to *London*, where by the Citizens he was received: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Tower, so prevailed with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King, to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the Lord *Phillip Basset*, upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Markes, if ever after he should raise any commotion.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into *Wales*, against *Lewellin*, for ayding *Simon Monfort* and the Earle of *Glocester*, in their late attempts against him; but his wrath being by the gift of thirty two thousand pounds sterling, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of Warre, beene taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, wherein wee see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggle to doe more than it should, and the other to doe lesse than it ought, they both had the worst, according to the usuall events of such imbroylements.

The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and divers Noblemen induced to undertake the Holy Warre by the solicitation of him; and the King of *France*, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe adventure therein. So much either the desire of revenge, with the recovery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enjoying another World provoked him to forgoe this, & hast to his finall destruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his present Furnishment, this King of *France* lent him 30. thousand Markes, for which he morgaged unto him *Gascogny*. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of policy than piety, in this King, to ingage in such manner, and upon so especiall a caution, a young stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same adventure with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, eyther of his company or ayde, considering the inconveniences that stung these severall Nations heretofore by their incompetibility, in the same action; but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other coverings for their designes than those through which they were scene; their spirits seeme to have beene warmed with a Nobler flame.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the Warre had bred, causing by proclamation *stealsh of Cattle to be made a crime capitall*, and the first that suffered for the same was one of *Dunstable*, who had stolne twelve Oxen from the inhabitants of *Colne*, and being pursued to *Redburne*, was by a Bayliffe of *Saint Albans* (according to the Kings Proclamation) condemned and beheaded. And the same yeare the King assembles his last Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted.

Neere two yeares it seemes to have beene after the undertaking the Crosse before Prince *Edward* set fourth, a time long enough (if those resolutions would have beene shaken) to have bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could give any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well understanding the World, so forward in yeares (being then thirty two) so neere the possession of a Kingdome, would not have left it, and an aged Father broken with dayes & travaile, to have betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender comfort *Eliouer*, & as it seems then young with child) to a voyage

voyage

voyage that could promise nothing but danger, toyle, misery and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolved with those softnings of Luxury and Idleness which unmanners them. And wee cannot but admire the undauntable constancy of this Prince whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing even the beginning of action) could not deterre fro proceeding therein. For, first the King of *France* who with two of his sonnes, the King of *Navarre* and a mighty Army, being set out before, and by the way besieging the City of *Tunis* in *Affrica* (possessed then by the *Sarazins* that infested *Christendome*) perished miserably by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, where by all their enterprize was dashed and utterly overthrowne. Besides, *Charles* King of *Sicile*, brother to this King of *France*, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Navy by tempest. Moreover, many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leave him and returne home. Whereupon he is sayd To have stricken his breast, and sworne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter *Ptolemais* or *Acon*, though but onely with his Horse-keeper *Fowin*.

By which speech they were againe incensed to proceede; but yet his Cousen *Henry* sonne to the King of *Romans*, obtaines leave of him to depart; and was set on shore in *Italy*: where, notwithstanding he found what he sought to avoyde, Death; and was slaine in the Church at *Viterbo* (being at Divine Service) by his owne Cousen German *Guy de Monfort* (sonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leicester*) in revenge of his Fathers Death. The newes of which unnaturall murder seemes to hasten the end of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, who dyed shortly after, and the next yeare following, finished likewise *Henry* the third of *England* his Act, in the 65. of his age having Reigned 56. yeares, & 20. dayes. A time that hath held us long, and taken up more than a tenth part from the Norman Invasion to this present; and yeelded notes of great variety with many examples of a crasse and diseased State, bred both by the inequality of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborne Nobility.

He had by his Wife *Eliouer* six sonnes, whereof onely two survived him; *Edward* and *Edmond*; and two daughters, who lived to be married, *Margaret* the eldest to *Alexander* King of *Scots*: *Beatrice* the other to *John* the first, intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.



Pon the Death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the New Temple, and Proclaimes his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were living; swears Fealty unto him: causes a new Seale to be made; and appoints fit Ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remains in *Palestine*, where by an *Assassin* (making shew of delivering letters) hee receives three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof hee was hardly recured. After three yeares travaile, from the time of his setting forth; and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, hee leaves *Acon* (which hee went to relieve) well fortified and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is royally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the Pope and the Princes there.

R 3

Thence

The resolution
of Prince
Edward.

1272.
Anno
Reg. 57

His issue.

1274.
Anno
Reg. 1.

1269.
Anno
Reg. 53

Prince Ed-
ward, his brother and o-
thers, under-
take the Holy
Warre.

Parlia-
ment at
Marleborough.

1271.
Anno
Reg. 55

Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, he is met by the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chalboun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe he hazards his person to shew his valour, which may seeme to be more than became his Estate, and Dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertained, and feasted by *Phillip* the third (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom hee doth homage for all the Territories hee held of that Crowne.

His coronation.

1274.
Anno
Reg. 3.

Thence he departs into *Aquitaine*, where hee spent much time in settling his affaires. And after six yeares, from his first setting out, hee returns into *England*: Receives the Crowne (without which hee had beene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in September 1275. And with him is *Elionor* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great defeite he gave the Barons at *Evesham*: The prosecution of the dis-herited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and travaile: His single combat with *Adam Gurdun* the Out-law neare *Farnham*: His great adventure and attempts in the East: and finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his maturity of yeares (being about thirty five before hee came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able master hee would prove in the mannage thereof. And how by these advantages of Opinion and Reputation he was likely (as hee did) to make a higher improvement of the Royalty, having wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as he seemes the first Conquerour, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his government appears.

And even at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made tryall of their patience, and had the fiftenth of all their goods (*Clergy* and *Lay*) granted unto him, without any noyse as we heare of. The *Clergy* having yeelded before a Tenth for two yeares to be paid him, and his brother *Edmond* towards the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But, yet all this could not divert the Designes he had to abate the power Ecclesiasticall, which by experience of former times, hee found to be a part growne too strong for the Sovereignty, whensoever they combined with the *Lay Nobility*: And therefore now at first (whilst he was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) hee began to set upon their Priviledges. And in Anno Reg. 6. (to extend, saith the Monkish History, the Royall Authority) he deprived many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Convent of *Westminster* the returne of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the third. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*, to hinder the encrease of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as being detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Military service of the same. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Iudges. He left not here, but afterward growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their goods, as well Temporall as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and griefe) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demand. And at the first propounding thereof, one Sir *Iohn Haquering* Knight stands up amongst them,

Quicquam De-
um em-
um bene-
um Temp-
um Cleric-
um tam
qui Licet
inadito
ad un-
taxatam
inferat
confi-
cari, Ma-
His pre-
ding ag-
the Clergy.

as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at *Westminster* (and sayd) Reverend Fathers, if any here will contradict the Kings demand in this businesse, let him stand out in the midst of the Assembly, that his person may be knowne; and soone, as one guilty of the Kings Peace. At which speech they all save mute. So much were the times altered since the late Reigne of the Father, wherein such a businesse could not have so passed. But now this Active King being come home, and having composed his affaires abroad, must needs be working, both to satise his owne desire in amplifying his power, and entertayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must be taken in hand.

Wales, that lay nearest the danger of a superiour Prince, and had ever strugled for liberty, and the rule of a Native Government, had alwayes beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellions of *England*: had ever Combined with *Scotland* to disturbe the peace, and government thereof: Having never her borders without blood and mischief; was an apt Subject to be wrought upon in this time. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose to quarrell, especially with an Inferiour: *Leweline*, now Prince of that Province, who had so long held in the fire of the late Civill Warres of *England* (and dearly payde for it) having refused upon summons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his first Parliament, alledged, he well remembered how his Father *Griffin* burst his necke out of the Tower of *London*, for which he brooked not that place, and therefore returned answer, That in any other, upon Hostages given him, or Commissioners sent to take his Fealty, he would (as it should please the King) be ready to render it. This gave occasion that King *Edward* the next yeare after, goes with a powerfull Army: Enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as *Leweline* (unable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaines it, but upon those conditions, as made his Principality little different from the tenour of a Subject. And besides he was fined in fifty thousand pound sterling, and to pay 1000. pounds Per Annum for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in something that might be a tie to this peace, restored unto him *Elionor* (daughter to *Simon* Mansfort late Earle of *Leicester*) who, with her brother *Elmericke* had been lately taken Prisoners by certaine Ships of *Bristol*, as shee was passing out of *France* into *Wales*, to be made the miserable Wife of this unfortunate Prince. Whose restraint and affliction might perhaps be a motive, the rather to incline him to this lownesse of submission, and accord: Which, as it was made by Force (an unfaire contractor of Covenants) so was it by disdain, as ill an observer, soone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Iustice upon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-marches of bordering Princes) or the ever-working passion of desire of Liberty in the Welsh, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill insensed closure. And out is *Leweline* in Armes; surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford* sent Iusticiar into those parts; and commits all Acts of Hostility. With him joynes his brother *David*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood: marched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich Widdow: and given him in stead of his other lands, the Castle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds per Annum. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powerfull inclinations of Nature: The ayding his country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.

King *Edward* advertised of this Revolt (being at the *Vices* in *Wiltshire*) prepares

San. West.

An occasion
taken for sub-
duing of
Wales.

1276.
Anno
Reg. 4.

1278.
Anno
Reg. 6.

prepares an Army to repress it. But before his setting forth; he privately goes to visite his Mother Queene *Elionor* living in the Nunnery at *Ambsbury*; with whom whilst he conferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who fained himselfe (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tombe of *Henry* the third. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. And wished his Mother in no case to beleve him. His Mother, who much rejoiced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew suddainly into rage, and willed the King to avoyd her Chamber. The King obeyes; and going forth meets with a Clergyman, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily sayd, *He knew the Iustice of his Father to bee such, that hee would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, than restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grievances, and the causes that drave them to revolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which he foresaw would light upon the Nation. But nothing could he effect, certaine petty defects *Leoline* had given to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Error*) how he should shortly be Crowned with the Diademe of Brute; so overweighed this poore Prince, as he had no care for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after hee was slaine in battaile by a common Souldier) and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to be crowned with Ivie, and set upon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Utoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betwixt (as they write) by the men of *Baelth*.

Shortly after to finish this worke of blood, is *David* his brother taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunke of his Body divided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his Brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *Torke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we reade of in our History.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be usual to this Nation. And even this King (under whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And just at the sealing of this Conquest, *Aphonsus* his eldest sonne of the age of twelve yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnarvan* (an infant, uncertaine how to proove) his Heire of the Kingdome; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose unnatural destruction, we shall likewise heare of in his time.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left unto the *Brittaines* the ancient possessours of this Isle) to be united to the Crowne of *England*, Anno Reg. 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; having little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Aunccestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraigne Princes of power out of this Isle: and being so potent a Kingdome as this, so often invaded, so often reduced to extremities, so eagerly pursued, almost by every King, and sayd to have beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserve their liberty. And how it was now at

1283.
Anno
Reg. 11.

The death of
Leoline the
last of the
Welsh Princes.

The Execution
of David
his brother at
Shrewsbury,
the first in that
kinde.

The death of
the Prince
Aphonsus.

Wales united
to England.

at last gotten, and upon what ground we see; But the effect proves better than the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the sword is not to give an Account to Justice; the publicke benefit makes amends. Those miserable mischiefs that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Division and Plurality of States in this Isle, having ever made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one peece, would have it to be governed but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could never enjoy. And now this prudent King (no lesse provident to preserve than subdue this Province) established the government thereof according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be scene by the Statute of *Rutland*, Anno Reg. 12.

This worke effected and sealed, King *Edward* passes over into *France* (upon notice of the Death of *Phillip le Hardy*) to renew and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King *Phillip* the fourth (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth homage for *Aquitaine*, having before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for ever. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile* and *Arragon* in *spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) Prisoner in *Arragon*, paying for his ran- some thirty thousand pounds.

After three yeares and a halfe being abroad, hee returnes into *England*, which must now supply his Coffers emptyed in this Voyage. And occasion is given (by the generall complaints made unto him of the ill administration of Justice in his absence) to inflict penalties upon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that Profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Authority) the Necessity of reforming so grievous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gave easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, upon due examinations and proove of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

First Sir *Ralph Hengham* chiefe Justice of the higher Bench, seven thousand Markes: Sir *John Loveton* Justice of the lower Bench, three thousand Markes. Sir *William Bromton* Justice 6000. Markes. Sir *Solomon Rochester* foure thousand Markes. Sir *Richard Bayland* 4000. Markes. Sir *Thomas Solington* two thousand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton* two thousand Markes: These foure last were Justices Itinerants. Sir *William Saham* three thousand Markes. *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolles one thousand Markes. *Roger Leicester*, one thousand Markes. *Henry Bray* Escheator, and Judge for the Lewes, one thousand Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods and whole estate Confiscated to the King. Which were it but equal to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, these fines bring to the Kings Coffers above one hundred thousand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to above three hundred thousand Markes. A mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those dayes, when Litigation and Law had not spread it selfe into those infinite wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange even to our greater getting times. But peradventure now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger than the Law (as all trades of profit come over-pestred with multitude of Traders) is the cause (that like a huge River dispersed into many little Rilles)

1286.
Anno
Reg. 13

1289.
Anno
Reg. 16

Sir Ralph
Hengham a
Chiefe Com-
missioner for
the govern-
ment of the
Kingdome in
the Kings ab-
sence.
Officers fined
for bribery &
extortion.

The Banish-
ment of the
Iewes.

Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, than those of former times; and Offices, now of Iudicature peradventure more piously executed.

Of no lesse grievance, the King the next year after eased his people, by the Banishment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdom willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Having before (in *Anno Reg. 9.*) offered a fifth part of their goods to have them expelled: but then the Iewes gave more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their immoveables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite Value. But now hath he made his last commodity of this miserable people, which having beene never under other cover than the Will of the Prince, had continually served the turne in all the necessary occasions of his predecessors, but especially of his Father and himselfe. And in these reformations that are easefull, and pleasing to the State in generall, the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, than any other motive, which may be for his profit. And howsoever some particular men suffer (as some must ever suffer) yet they are the fairest, and safest wayes of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not onely discharges the Prince of all imputation of rigour, but renders him more beloved and respected of his people. And this King, having much to doe for mony (comming to an empty Crowne) was driven to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, he had already drawne from his subjects. As in the first yeare of his Reigne, Pope Gregory procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for two yeares; besides a Fifteenth of them and the Temporality. In the third likewise another Fifteenth of both. In the fifth, a Twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh Warres. In the seaventh the old Mony was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297. were at one time executed at London, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno Reg. 8.* seeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands, by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which opposed by the Earle Warreine, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, saying, *How by the same he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists and obtaines a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the eleaventh, hee had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy for the Welsh Warres. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings for every Knights Fee for the same purpose. In the fourteenth, hee had a thousand Markes of certaine Merchants fined for false Weights. In the seaventeenth, those fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the eighteenth, this confiscation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the English. After this *Anno Reg. 19.* pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleaventh part of all Mooveables, and shortly after the Pope procures him a tenth for six yeares to be collected in England, Scotland and Ireland, and layd up in Monasteries untill he were entred into *Mare Maggior*. But he made the Collectors pay him the mony gathered for three yeares without going so farre, having occasion to use it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

For the Crowne of Scotland (upon the death of King Alexander, and of the daughter of his daughter Margaret, who was to inherit) was now in controversie. Six Competitors pretend title therunto, all descending from David Earle of Huntingdon, younger brother to William King of Scots, and great Vncle to this late King Alexander. This title King Edward takes upon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdome. The Scots which swayed the Interregnum, are constrained for

His many
supplies and
meanes for
money.

1290.
Anno
Reg. 17

for avoyding further inconveniences, to make him Arbitrator thereof, and the six Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found; betwene whom the Right lay: John Baliol Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a sonne of a younger Daughter of Alan, who had married the eldest Daughter of this David, brother to King William. The Controversie held long. Twelve of eyther Kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the same at Barmicke: All the best Civilians in the Universties of France, are solicited to give their opinions, the differences, and perplexednesse whereof made the decision more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation, that ever begets rather Doubts than Resolutions, and never knowes well nor certainly how to make an end.

King Edward, the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes his Journey Northward, and whilst he sought to compass greater Felicity, he lost the better part of what he had in this World, his deare consort Elionor (who had ever attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honour of Womanhood: Who is sayd to have sucked the poyson out of the wound given him by the Assassin in the East, when no other meanes could preserve his life) dyes by the way in Lincolnshire. With whose Corpes, in extream griefe he returnes backe to Westminster, causing (at all speciall places where it rested by the Way) goodly engraven Croffes, with her Statue to be erected. As at Stamford, Waltham, West-cheape, Charing and others, gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulness.

Her Funeralls performed, backe he returnes to his Scottish businesse: And now six yeares it was since the Death of King Alexander, and much time having beene spent, and nothing concluded in this controversie: King Edward that would bee sure (whosoever prevailed) to have the hand that should make him, deales privately with Bruce (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promises him, if he would yeeld Fealty and Homage to the Crowne of England, he would invest him in that of Scotland. Bruce answers, *He was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties of his Country.* Then with the like offer hee sets upon Baliol, who having better right but lesse love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, than honour, yeelds thereunto: is Crowned King at Scone: hath Fealty done him all of the Chiefe Nobility, except Bruce: Comes to New Castle upon Tyne where King Edward then lay; and there (with many of his Nobles) sweares Fealty, and did Homage unto him; as his Sovereigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to secure him; overthrew him. For being little beloved before, hereby hee became lesse: such as stood for Bruce, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preservation of their Countries liberty) grew into Stomacke against him; as having not onely discontented them in this Act, but shortly after in his Iustice, in the case of the Earle of Fife, one of the six Governours in the time of Anarchy, who had beene slaine by the Family of Albemeth. And the brother of this Earle now prosecuted in Law, before the King Baliol in his high Court of Parliament (where having no right done him, King Baliol giving Iudgement on the side of the Albemeths) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of England. King Baliol is thither summoned: appears, sits with King Edward in his Parliament till his cause was to be tried, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and stand at the place appoin-

The occasion
of his Warres.
with Scotland.

King Edward
cholen by the
Scots to arbitrate
the
right of the
pretenders to
that Crowne.

1291.
Anno
Reg. 18
Queene Elionor
dyes.
Her Prayse.

Scottish Hi-
story.

Baliol made
King of Scot-
land.

1294
Anno
Reg. 21

Baliol discon-
tented returns
into Scotland.

1296.
Anno
Reg. 23

The occasion
of the wars be-
tweene Eng-
land and Scot-
land.

appointed for pleading: Hee craves to answer by a Procurator: it is denied: then himselfe arises, and descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

With which Indignity (as he tooke it) hee returnes home, with a breast full charged with indignation: Meditates revenge, renews the Ancient League with France: Confirms it with the marriage of his sonne Edward, with a daughter of Charles brother to King Phillip, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of England, to embrace the same. Which done, Baliol defies King Edward; renounces his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the reigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood, wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer than ever quarrell we reade of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that beganne it, could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Revenge of wrongs (that ever beget wrongs, lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (even to the last, before this blessed Union) have had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreame hinderance in all other their designs. Although the intention of this great and Martiall King, for reducing this whole Isle under one government, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatnesse, that ever seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can: Yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and we see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God had fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an unstayned hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting hold, which otherwise it could never have done. Violence may joyne Territories, but never affections together; which onely must grow voluntary, and be the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to have obtained it in the fairest manner he could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne Edward with Margaret daughter to the King of Norway, grand-childe, and heire to the last King Alexander, who (dying an Infant soone after her Grand-father) disappointed his hopes that way; and drave him to have recourse to his Sovereignty, which being opposed, he was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintaine his owne honour, and to effect what he had begonne: Whereof the miserable events were such, as now wee may well spare their memory, and be content those bloody Relations should be razed out of all Record; but that they serve to shew us the woefull calamities of our separation, and the comfortable blessings wee enjoy by this our happy Union. Neyther doth it now concerne us to stand upon any points of Honour, whether of the Nations did the bravest exploits in those time, seeing who had the better was beaten, neyther did the over-commer Conquer, when he had done what he could: That little which was gayned, cost so much more than it was worth, as it had beene better not to have beene had at all. And if any side had the Honour, it was the invaded Nation, which being the weaker, and smaller, seemes never to have beene subdued, though often over-come: Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to preserve their Liberties; which never people of the world more Nobly defended, against so Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and

and constancie, it had beene impossible but they must have beene brought to an utter consternation.

For all what the power of this kingdome could doe (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (upon this defection of King Baliol, and his League made with France) counter-leagues with all the Princes hee could draw in, either by gifts or alliance to strengthen his party abroad. As first with Guy Earle of Flanders, with whose Daughter hee seekes to match his Sonne Edward. Then with Adolph de Nassau the Emperour, to whom he sends fiftene thousand pounds Sterling, to recover certaine lands of the Empire which Adolph claimed in France: Hee had likewise married one of his Daughters to the Duke of Barre, who pretends Title to Champagne, another to John Duke of Brabant: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets upon the King of France; who had (for certaine spoyles committed on the coast of Normandy by the English, and no redresse obtained) summoned King Edward, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and answer it in his Court; which he refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeite all his Territories in France: And an Army is presently sent forth to seize upon the same, led by Charles de Valois, and Arnold de Neelle Constable of France. Burdeaux with divers other Peeces of importance are taken and fortified. To the recovery whereof, the King of England sends over his Brother Edmond Earle of Lancaster, the Earles of Lincoln, and Richmond, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Armes, and a Navie of three hundred and sixty Sayle. And notwithstanding all this mighty charge and Forces imployed in those parts; King Edward sets upon King Baliol, (refusing upon Summons to appeare at his Court at New Castle, standing upon his owne defence) and enters Scotland with an Army sufficient to conquer a faire mightier kingdome, consisting of foure thousand men at Armes, on Horse, and thirty thousand Foote, besides five hundred Horse, and one thousand Foote of the Bishop of Duresme: intending here to make speedy worke that he might afterward passe over Sea to ayde his confederates, and be revenged of the King of France.

Barwicke is first wonne with the death of fiftene thousand Scots; (our Writers report more) but nothing is more uncertaine than the number of the slaine in Battailles; and after that the Castles of Dunbarre, Roxborough, Edenborough, Sterling, and Saint Johns Townes were wonne or yeelded unto him: King Baliol sues for peace; submits himselfe, takes againe his Oath of Fealty to King Edward, as his Sovereigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for Scotland was held at Barwicke, wherein the Nobility did likewise Homage unto him, confirming the same by their Charter under their Hand and Seales. Onely William Dowglass refused; content rather to endure the misery of a prison, than yeeld to the subjection of England. King Baliol (Notwithstanding his submission) is sent prisoner into England, after his foure yeares dignity, I cannot say Reigne: For it seemes hee had but little power, and King Edward returnes from this expedition, leaving John Warreine Earle of Surrey and Suffex, Warden of all Scotland, Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormsby Chiefe Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages, and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crowne.

And here this conquest might seeme to have beene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more blood, travaile, and treasure, and all to as little effect. And now the French businesses (that require speedy helpe) are wholly

King Edwards
combines with
other Princes.

An Army sent
into France.

Another into
Scotland.

1297.
Anno
Reg. 24

King Edwards
Victories in
Scotland.

1298.
Anno
Reg. 25

wholly intended. For which King *Edward* calls a Parliament at *Saint Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Citizens and Burgesses of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergy (upon a prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, that no Tallage or Imposition, laid by any Prince, upon whatsoever appertained to the Church, should be paid) absolutely refuse to give any thing. Which prohibition may seeme to have beene produced by themselves, in regard of the many Levies lately made upon the Estate Ecclesiasticall. As in *Anno Reg. 22.* they paid the moiety of their goods : of which the Abbey of *Canterbury* yeelded 596 pounds 7 shillings and 10 pence ; and besides furnished six horses for the sea-coasts. This Leavy, as *Stow* notes in his collection, amounted to fixe hundred thousand pounds. And in *Anno Reg. 23.* the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides, he had a loane of the Clergy, which amounted to 100 thousand pounds, whereof the Abbot of *Bury* paid 655 pounds.

The King puts
the Clergy out
of his prote-
ction.

Notwithstanding now, upon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergy out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts (a straine of State beyond any of his predecessours) which so amazed them being exposed to all offences and injuries whatsoever, & no means to redresse themselves, as the Archbishop of *Torke*, with the Bishops of *Durresme*, *Eley*, *Salisbury*, *Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings Warres; whereby they appeased his wrath; and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seised on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese and part of *Lincolne*; taken into the Kings hands; and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessities to the Monkes, converting the rest to the Kings use. At length by such suite, the Abbots, and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themselves, and the Kings favour. Thus will martiall Princes have their turnes served by their Subjects in the times of their necessities, howsoever they oppose it.

The Lords re-
solute to goe to
Gascoigne ex-
cept the King
went in per-
son.

Mat. West.

During this contract with the Clergy, the King calls a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Church-men; wherein, He requires certaine of the great Lords to goe unto the *Wittres* of *Gascoigne*, which required a present supply, upon the death of his Brother *Edmond*, who having spent much Treasure and time in the siege of *Burdaw*, without any successe, retires to *Bayon*, then in possession of the English; and there ends his life. But they all making their excuses every man for himselfe, the King in great anger threatened, they should either goe, or he would give their lands to others that should. Whereupon *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *high Constable*, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke* Marshall of England, make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer more offends, and being urged againe: The Earle Marshall protested he would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vanguard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainly he should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in person. I am not so bound, said the Earle, neither will I take that journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sweare by the same oath, I will neither goe nor hang, said the Earle, and so without leave departs.

Shortly after, the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fifteen hun-
dred

dred men at Armes well appointed, and stood upon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as thieves, but lets the matter passe: In regard that both his businesse in *France*, and the pressing necessity of ayding his Confederates (whereon his Honour and whole estate abroad depended) called him over into *Flanders*; which the King of *France* had now invaded; pretending the same Title of Sovereignty to that Province, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And having had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other designs of the Earle *Guy*, sends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter to make merry with him at *Paris*: where instead of feasting, hee makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he fought, being his vassall, to match her to the Sonne of his capitall Enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and suffered to depart, but without his Daughter: Of whose surpris and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) hee complains to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly urge the release of the young Lady, but all in vaine; and thereupon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his Confederates) takes Armes, and defies the King of *France*: who now comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused the King of *England* to make what speede he could, to relieve this distressed Earle, and to leave all his other businesses at home in that broken estate which he did; the Scots in revolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet he tooke the best order he could, leaving the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, & certaine especiall Councillors, as the Bishop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwick*, the Lord *Reginald Gray* and *Clifford*, and besides, to recover the Clergy received the Archbishop of *Canterbury* into favour.

The French
King invites
the Earle of
Flanders to
Paris, & there
imprisons him.

The French
invades *Flan-
ders*.

This Roll of
grievances is
recorded by
The *W. a. viz.*

1299.
Anno
Reg. 26

And being ready now to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him in a Roll of the generall grievances of his Subjects: Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions; with his seeking to force their services by unlawfull courses: his late impost laid of forty shillings upon every sack of wooll, being before but halfe a Marke, estimating the Wooll of *England* to a fifth part of all the substance thereof. The King sends answer, that he could not alter any thing without the advise of his Councell, which were not now about him: And therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in this journey (which they absolutely refused to doe though hee went in person, unlesse he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence prejudiciall to the peace of the kingdome. And that upon his returne, he would set all things in good order as should be fit.

And so with 500 Sayle, eightene thousand men at Armes, hee puts out for this journey, wherein Fortune shewed him, how he should not be alwayes his: For, contrary to his expectation he found the Country of *Flanders* distracted into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their Libertie (which they respected more than their Obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwise than themselves pleased. And now the King of *France*, daily getting upon them (having wonne *Lisle*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*; and the Emperour *Adolph* failing of his aide and personall assistance, as interessed confederates often doe, especially having received their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the summe of 100 thousand Markes) drave the King of *England* into great perplexity, and held him within long delayes, to his extreame travaile and expences: which forced him to send over for more supply of Treasure, and give order for a Parliament to bee held at

King *Edward*
passes over in-
to *Flanders*, to
the ayde of the
Earle *Guy*.

A Parliament held at *Yorke* in the absence of the King.

The *Gantois* takes Armes against the *Englsh*. King *Edward* in danger. Hee returns into *England*.

The History of *France*.

1300.
Anno
Reg. 27

King *Edward* prosecutes his *Scottish* business.

William Wallace animates the *Scots* against the subjection of *England*.

Yorke by the Prince, and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that he would not be disappointed, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter: promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this journey. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth pennie of their goods: The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy of the Province the tenth penny: *Yorke* and his Province the fifth: so the Kings instant wants are releevd, and the kingdome satisfied for a present shift. But it is not well with a State where the Prince and people seeke but to obtaine their severall ends, and worke upon the advantages of each others necessities: for as it is unsincere, so it is often unsuccessfull, and the good so done hurts more than it pleasures.

The King thus supplied, staves all this Winter in *Gaunt*, where his people committing many outrages, so exasperates the *Gantois*, as they tooke Armes, made head against them, slew many, and put the Kings person in great danger: so that, doe what the Earle *Guy* and himselfe could to appeale them, in satisfying such as had received wrong, and giving the rest faire words, hee hardly could escape safe out of the Countrey, which rather desired to have the *Englsh* commodities, than their companies. This was the successe of his journey into *Flanders*, which hee leaves at the Spring of the yeare, having concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeares. And the poore Earle *Guy* left to himselfe, is shortly after made the prey of his Enemy, and is prisoner in *Paris*; where hee and his daughter both dyed of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a possession, though not to the subjection of the King of *France*. For after they had received him for their Lord, his exactions and oppressions upon them, contrary to their ancient Liberties so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gave *France* the greatest wound that ever before it received at one blow; which was at the famous Battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoise* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Nel* Constable of *France*, and all the Leaders with twelve thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to shew what the King of *France* got, by seeking to attaine this Sovereignty of *Flanders*, as well as wee shall heare of the King of *England*'s getting upon *Scotland* for the same title: It is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of eleven years, this quarrell cost the lives of a hundred thousand *French* men. Besides, it drave the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impositions, as that of *Mailletoise* and the tenth *Denier* upon *liure* of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great out-cries, and dangerous seditions among his subjects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he presently after his returne, falls anew upon *Scotland*, which in his absence had beaten his Officers, and people almost out of the Countrey, slaine Sir *Hugh Cressingham* with 6000 *Englsh*: recovered many Castles, and regained the Towne of *Berwicke*. And all by the animation and conduct of *William Wallace* a poore private Gentleman (though nobly descended) who seeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could discover, to annoy the *Englsh*. And having therein good successe, it so increased both his courage and company, as hee afterwards comes to bee the generall

Guardian

Guardian of the whole kingdome: leads their Armies, effects those great defeits upon the Enemy, and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Countrey from the subjection of *England*, had not some private emulation amongst themselves, and the speedie comming of King *Edward* with all his power prevented him. So much could the spirit of one brave man worke, to set up a whole Nation upon their feete, that lay utterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time have gotten the Dominion for his Countrey, than to get a Crowne. For which he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoever praise can be given to meere Vertue, must bee ever due to him.

And now King *Edward*, to bring his worke neere together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *Yorke*, where they continued above fixe yeares. And thither calls he a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where are assembled three thousand men at Armes on barded horses; and foure thousand other armed men on horse without bards; with an Army on foote answerable, consisting most of *Welsh* and *Irish*: besides, five hundred men at Armes out of *Gasconie*; and with this power makes he his second expedition into *Scotland*.

The Earles of *Hereford* and *Norfolke*, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although hee were thus girt with all this strength, and in the midt of his mightinesse, they urge the ratifications of two Charters, and their pardons: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme at the late granting thereof. The Bishop of *Duresme*, the Earles of *Surrey*, *Warwick*, and *Glocester* undertooke for the King, that after he had subdued his Enemies and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, led his Vanguard at the famous Battaille of *Fonkirke*, which the King of *England* got, wherein are reported to be slaine 200 Knights, and fortie thousand foote of the *Scots*. But *William Wallace* with some few escaped to make more worke.

And here againe that kingdome might seeme as if quite overcome. Most of the Estates of the Earles and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the *Englsh* Nobility, to make them the more eager to maintaine and prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at *Saint Andrewes*, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely *Wallice*) againe sweare fealty to the King of *England*.

The *Scottish* Writers here set a wide marke of Tyrannie upon King *Edward* in this expedition, As not content to carry away captive all such as might seeme to have any the least ability to stirre, but also endeavours to extinguish, if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation, abolishing all their ancient Lawes, trading their Ecclesiasticall rights to the custome of *England*, dispoyleing them of their Histories, their instruments of State, their antique Monuments, left either by the Romans, or erected by themselves: transporting all their Bookes and Booke-men into *England*: Sending to *London* the Marble stone, wherein (as the vulgar were perswaded) the fate of the kingdome consisted; and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generous spirits in the way of vertue and worthinesse; so that he bereaved them not onely of their strength, but of their mindes, supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination over that kingdome.

This journey ended, a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, wherein the promised

King *Edward* removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to *Yorke*.

The famous Battell of *Fonkirke*. The *Scots* overthrowne.

A Parliament at *S. Andrewes*.

The *Scottish* Writers inveigh against the tyrannic of King *Edward*.

A Parliament
at Westminster.1301.
Anno
Reg. 28

misd confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disforrestation had heretofore beene made, was earnestly urged, and in the end with much adoe granted, with omission of the Clause, *Salvo Iure Corone nostre*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people would not endure the same: the perambulation of the Forrests of England is committed to three Bishops, three Earles, and three Barons.

In this litle pause of peace at home, a concord is, by the mediation of Pope Boniface, concluded with the King of France: whose sister Margaret the King of England takes to wife in the sixty two year of his age (something too late for so young a Match.) and the daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had beene usurped by the French King in Gascoigny. Burdeaux returnes to the obedience of the King of England, to the Merchants of which City hee paid 150 thousand pounds for his brother Edmonds expences in the late warres, and all is well on that side. Besides, the same Pope obtained permission for John Baliol the captive King of Scots to depart and live in France upon certaine lands he had there, and undertooke for his observation of the peace, and his confinement, who shortly after dyes, having had litle joy of a Crowne, or scarce leisure to know he was a King. The decrying and calling in of a certaine base Coyne named *Crocard* and *Pollard*, with the new stamping them againe, yielded something to the Kings Coffers: which must be emptied in Scotland, whither againe (having beene scarce eightene moneths at home) he makes his third expedition, but did litle, besides the regaining of *sterling* Castle which held out three moneths siege against all his power, and Engines reared with infinite charge and labour. And in the end not wonne but yielded up by the Defendant *William Oliver*, upon promise, which was not kept with him. The rest of the Scots made no head, but kept in the Mountaines and Fastnesses of their Countrey, whereby the Kings Army having more to doe with barrenesse than men, suffered much affliction, and many Horses were starved.

Now upon this peace with France, the Scots being excluded, and having none to relieve them, send their lamentable complaints to Pope Boniface, shewing him the afflicted state of their Countrey: the usurpation of the King of England upon them, and his most tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrary to all right and equity: *Protesting, they never knew of any Sovereignty hee had over them, but that they were a free Kingdome of themselves; and so at first hee dealt with them, upon the death of their last King Alexander, both in the treating of the marriage for his sonne Edward, with Margaret heire of Scotland; and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein he sought by their consents to be made Arbitrator, as he was. Howsoever afterward they were constrained to give way to his will; yet, what they ever yielded unto, was by reason they were otherwise unable to resist, &c.* Upon this remonstrance of the Scots, the Pope writes his powerfull Letters to the King of England, to forbear any further proceeding against them; claying withall the Sovereignty of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answers the Popes Letters at large, alleading from all antiquity, how the direct and superiour Dominion of Scotland had ever appertained to this Crowne, even from Brute to his owne line. And withall the whole Nobility write to the Pope, avowing the same right: and absolutely conclude, that the King their Lord should in no sort undergoe his Holiness judgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that business; whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the prejudice of the Crowne,

Crowne,

Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of England, which by their oath and duty they were bound to observe, and would defend with their lives. Neither would they permit, nor could, any ununsuall, unlawfull, and detrimtall proceeding; nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therefore besought his Holinesse to intermeddle no more in this matter. These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where then was held the Parliament Anno Domini 1301.

The Pope upon this answer, or rather having his hands full of other businessse, stirres no more in this. The King of France whom he had excommunicated, and given away his kingdome to the Emperour *Albert of Austrich*, shortly after so wrought, as his Spirituality was surprized at *Anaghe* a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retired from the troubles of Rome; and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colonne* a Banditto of Rome, and *Nogoret* and *Albigeye* (whom hee had both persecuted) as in extreame rage and anguish, within few dayes he ends his turbulent life.

And the King of England (having beene supplied with a fifteenth upon confirmation of the Charters againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) he makes his fourth expedition into Scotland, and as it were the fourth Conquest thereof, having had foure times Homage and Fealty sworne unto him. Which might seeme sufficient to confirme his Sovereignty, whereof now hee rests secure, and home returnes in triumphant manner; removes his Exchequer from *Torke*, seats his Nobility at *Lincolne* with all magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemne thanks to God and Saint Edward for Victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after *William Wallace* (that renowned Guardian of Scotland, betrayed by his companion) is sent up prisoner to *London*: adjudged according to the Lawes of England, to be drawne, hang'd and quartered; for his treasons committed against the King, (whom at his arraignment he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting never to have sworne fealty unto him.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne, in a strange Countrey, and remains amongst the best examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kinde. And now King Edward, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his businessse, an universall Lord at home, strong in alliance, and peace abroad, begins to looke more severely to the government of this kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders which the licence of warre and trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes he would have equall'd his will) is the case of Sir *Nicholas Segrave*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accused of Treason by Sir *John Cromwell*, offers to justify himselfe by Duell, which the King refuses to grant; in regard of the present warre then in hand. Whereupon Segrave without licence, & contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaves the Kings Campe, and goes over Sea to fight with his Enemy; for which the King (as against one that had not onely contemned him, but as much as in him lay, exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would have Iustice to proceede against him. Three dayes the Iudges consulted of the matter, and in the end adjudged Segrave guilty of death, and all his moveables and immoveables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatnesse of his blood, they added: Hee went not out of England in contempt of the King, but onely to be revenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy unto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replied, *Have you beene all this while consulting of this? I know it is in my power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to have mercy, but*

1305.
Anno
Reg. 32.The case of
Sir Nicholas
Segrave.

Mat. West.

The inquisition of Trailbaston.

1306.
Anno
Reg. 33.

not the more for your sakes than for a Dogge. Who hath ever submitted himselfe to my grace, and had repulse: but let this your Iudgement be recorded, and for ever held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terror to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the kingdome: thirty of his Peeres with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods, to bring him forth whensoever he should be called; the King restored him to his estate.

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens Lands, who to oppress the right owner, would make over their Land to great men: For *Batterers* hired to beate men: For *Breakers* of the peace: For *Ravishers*, *Incendiaries*, *Murderers*, *Fighters*, *false Assisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Iustice, wherein many were found delinquents, and paid deerly for it. Informers here, as fruitfull Agents for the *Fiske* (and never more employed than in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for Treasure above ground, this King made some profit of certaine silver Mynes in *Devonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollinghead*; but it seeme the charge amounting to more than the benefit, they afterwards came discontinued.

The King likewise now begins to shew his resentment of the stubborne behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past, and so terrifies *Roger Bigod* Earle Marshall, as to recover his favour, the Earle made him the heire of his Lands (though he had a brother living) reserving to himselfe a thousand pounds pension *per annum* during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escaped by death. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accused to have disturbed his peace in his absence) he sends over to *Pope Clement* the fifth, (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruist with a double power. This Pope was native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his favour; which to entertaine and increase hee sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of cleane gold: Which great gift so wrought with the Pope, as he let loose this *Lyon*, untied the King from the covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his thre last Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his oath: An act of little piety in the Pope, & of as little conscience in the King, who (as if he should now have no more neede of his Subjects) discovered with what sincerity he granted what he did.

But suddenly hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error and reforme it, finding the love of his people lawfully ordered to be that which gave him all his power and meanes hee had, and to know how their substances were intermutuall. The newes of a new King made and crowned in *Scotland*, was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, sonne to that *Robert* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, having beene so long without any to guide them, any intire counsell, scattered in power, disunited in minde, never at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to have led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly; that which they did in this distraction, shewes how much more they would have done otherwise.

otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but hee effected it, had the Crowne and hands ready to helpe him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *John Cumyn* his couzen-german being a Titler himselfe, a man of great love and alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to have bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had lived, and were his pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great undertakers are ever awake, and ready at all houres) prevents him by speede; and either to be avenged on him for his falshood, or ridde of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfrates*, sets upon and murders him in the Church.

Which foundation laid on blood (the place, the person, and the manner making it more odious) much stained his beginning, and effected not that security for which hee did it, but raised a mighty party in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquainted herewith, as he could not be before hand with him, yet would he not be long behind to overtake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to releve his Wardens of *Scotland*, who upon his revolt were all retyred to *Berwick*, whilest himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that who-soever ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for service, should repaire to *Westminster* at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, & a Military Ornament out of the Kings Ward-robe.

Three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemblé at the appointed day, & receive Purples, Silkes, Sindons, Scarfes wrought with gold or silver, according to every mans estate: For which traine (the Kings house being too litle, by reason a great part thereof was burnt upon his coming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Appletrees cut downe at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves and keepe their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and girt with a military Belt, as an Ornament of that Honour; and withall gave him the Duchy of *Aquitaine*) kept his Vigile with his Trainé at *Westminster*, and the next day girds these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt; in that manner as himselfe received it. At which ceremony the presse was so great, as the Prince was faine to stand upon the high Altar (a place for a more Divine Honour) to performe this: Which being solemnized with all the state and magnificence could be devised, the King before them all makes his vow, that alive, or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cumyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured Scots: Adjuring his sonne, and all the Nobles about him upon their fealty, that if hee died in this journey, they should carry his corpes with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely subdued the Countrey. A desire more Martiall than Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the world, as he would not make an end when he had done with it, but designs his travell beyond his life.

The Prince and all his Nobles promise upon their faith to employ their utmost power to performe his Vow, and so upon grant of the thirtieth penny of the Clergy and the Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants, he sets forth with a potent Army presently upon *Whitsontide*, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, Anno Regi 34. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power sent before, and the ayde of the Scottish party (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, and eager to revenge

Bruce murders John Cumyn in the Church.

King Edward sends and prepares for Scotland.

The Prince gives the honor of Knighthood to 300 Gentlemen.

1307.
Anno
Reg. 34

A great execution made of the Scots.

venge his death,) had, before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battell neere *S. Iohns Towne*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person: who escaping in disguise, recovered an obscure shelter, and was reserved for more and greater battels: His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwick*; so that King *Edward* at his comming, had not so much to doe as he expected. But yet hee passed over the Country, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to bee made for all who had bene ayding to the murder of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many and great personages are found out (being impossible amongst a broken people for any to remaine undiscovered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the rest. The age of the King of *England*, his choller, wrath, and desire of revenge made him vow inexorable, and to spare none of what degree soever they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall Blood, and allyed unto him) was sent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gallows than any of the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Rosse*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was ayding at the Coronation of *Bruce*, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemie, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, than any way quailed it: *desperation* being of a sharper edge than *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who never forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, love, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as he was alive they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours, which his Enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as never to rise againe) found afterward to their cost. For this man, from being thus laid on the ground, within few yeates after gets up to give the greatest overthrow to the greatest Army that ever the *English* brought into the field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was given.

A Parliament at Carlisle.

All this Summer the King spends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carlisle*, to be ready the next Spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resolved he is, not to depart, till he had set such an end to this worke, as it should neede no more. And here he holds his last Parliament, wherein the State was mindfull of the Popes late action, got many Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who being but poore, sought to get where it was to be had. Wringing from the elect Archbishop of *Yorke* in one yeare nine thousand five hundred Markes: And besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to be made Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, gave him and his Cardinalls mighty summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is said to have had in purchases, in inheritances, five thousand Markes per annum, besides what belonged to his Myter: which shewed the Pope the riches of this kingdome, and moved him to require the fruites of one yeares revenue, of every Benefice that should fall voide in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of Abbeyes, Priories, and Monasteries: which though it were denied him, yet something he had; the King and hee dividing it betwixt them. The Pope granted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares: and the King yelded, that the Pope should have the first fruits of those Churches. And the better to effect this

business,

The King and Pope divide the benefit of the Clergy.

business, the Pope makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall & *Latere*, to call upon the King for consummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward* and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got something, but not so much as he expected.

Whilest they were thus busie at *Carlisle*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, suddenly assailes the Earle of *Pembroke* at unawares, and gave him a great defeat; and within three dayes after chases the Earle of *Glocester* into the Castle of *Ayn*, where hee besieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driven againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as he was (in what estate soever he was) there would be no end of this Warre.

Which caused King *Edward* to send out his first commandement, that whosoever ought him service should presently upon the Midsummer after attend him at *Carlisle*. And withall he sends the Prince to *London*, about the business of his Marriage. In July, although he found himselfe not well, he enters *Scotland* with a fresh Army, which he led not farre; for falling into a *Dysenterie*, he dyes at *Borough* upon the sands; as if to shew on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world, having reigned thirty and foure yeares seven moneths: aged sixty eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherein the fire held out even to the very last; borne and bred for action and military affaires, which hee managed with great judgement; ever wary, and provident for his owne business watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatnesse of *England*, than the quiet thereof. And this wee may justly say of him, that never King before or since shedde so much Christian blood without this *Ile of Brittain*, as this Christian Warriordid in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

Hee had issue by his first Wife Queene *Eliouer* foure sonnes, whereof onely *Edward* survived him, and nine Daughters; *Eliouer* married first to *John* Earle of *Burg*; then to *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Gloucester*; *Margaret* to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; *Mary* lived a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ambury*; *Elizabeth* married first to *John* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hertford*, the rest died young. Hee had by his second Wife two sonnes, *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton*, which was Marshall and Earle of *Norfolk*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

Edward of *Carnarvan* removed more than one degree from the Father in height of Spirit, and neerer the Grand-father in flexibility, and easinesse of nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Reigne in July 1307, in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which shewes us what confusion & mischief attends ryot, disorder, neglect of the State, and advancing unworthy, or ill-disposed Minions, to the prejudice of others, the griefe of the people, and the diminution of the Royall Majestie. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sickness of his private favours, yet those often relapses of his, shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole estate of his minde, not to be cured.

Never was Prince received with greater love and opinion of all, or ever any

King Bruce recovers new forces.

King Edward enters Scotland and dies there.

1340.
Anno
Reg. 35.

His Issue.

1307.
Anno
Reg. 1.

King Edward the first imprisoned his son, and exiled Pierce Gaveston An. R. 33.

Pierce Gaveston recalled & preferred by the King.

A Parliament at Northampton held before the coronation. The Marriage of King Edward solemnized at Bologna.

Gaveston corrupts the king.

The Lords are displeased with Gaveston.

any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discovered a headstrong willfulness that was uncouncellable: Whereof the enterprising againe his old Companion *Pierce Gaveston* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to have corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: Amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which he both imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Gaveston*. Besides, this provident King (as if fore-seeing the mischief might ensue) at his Death charged his sonne (upon his blessing) never to recall or entertaine *Pierce Gaveston* againe about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his will observed therein: Which notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed; and not onely entertaines, but invests *Gaveston* in the Earledome of *Cornwall* and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crown, & makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to be revenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his experiences, and complained of him for his Ryot) he caused him to be arrested, committed to Prison, and seises upon all his goods, which hee gave to *Gaveston*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne: remooves most of his Fathers Officers; and all without the advice, or consent of his Councell, which gave them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people held them base, should be Current, and a fifteenth of the Clergy, a Twentieth of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, he passes over to *Bologna*, where his Nuptials with *Isabell*, Daughter to *Phillippe Bel*, are sumptuously solemnized; at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queens besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gaveston* is sayd to have exceeded them all in bravery, and daintinesse of attire, wherewith afterward hee infected the Court of *England*. A mischief the most contagious to breede Consumption in a State, that can bee introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe over all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it. And had he done no other hurt to the Kingdome than this, it had beene enough to have made him (as hee was) odious thereunto. But besides, he afterwards filled the Court with Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolve the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby he so posselt him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day, and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnesse, ryot, and disorder: neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles: who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 2.) require him that *Gaveston* might be removed from the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time. Whereupon the King to avoyde so great a disgrace, promises on his faith, to yeeld to what they desired in the next Parliament; and the solemnity with much festination, and little reverence is performed. Wherein *Gaveston* for carrying *Saint Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggravates the hatred of the Clergy, and Nobility against him.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *England* are at once arrested, and committed to prison. Then were an order

of

of Knights instituted by *Baldwin* the fourth King of *Jerusalem* about two hundred yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that City, and the safe conveying of all such as travailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdomes of Christendome, and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably vicious. So that all the Kings of Christendome at one instant (combining together) caused them to bee apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* beganne, having a purpose to make one of his sonnes King of *Jerusalem*, and possesse him of their revenues. Their accusations followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame than prooffe) in the generall Councell at *Vienne*; as appeares by the condemnatory Bull of Pope *Clement* the third: wherein hee hath this clause, *Quamquam de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobanus*. Their estates are after given to the *Hospitaliers*.

These businesses passed over, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gaveston*, whose insolency, and presumption upon the Kings favour, made him so farre to forget himselfe, as he scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him; Tearing *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* the Stage player: *Amery de Valence Earle of Pembroke*, *Isaph the Jew*; and *Guy Earle of Warwick*, the blacke dogge of *Arden*: Which scoffes, leaving behinde them the sting of revenge (especially where they touch) drew such a party upon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly Humbly besought the King, to advise, and treat with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the avoiding of eminent mischief, likely to insue through neglect of government; and so farre urges the matter, as the King consents therunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoever they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choyce men both of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles which are there publicly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which the observation and execution of *Magna Charta* is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should be banished the Court, and Kingdome, and all ill Counsellors removed. That the business of the State should be treated only by the Councell of the Clergy, and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or goe any way out of the Kingdome, without the common Councell of the same.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to avoyde further trouble hee yeelds unto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is he sent into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, nor as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Country. The King not enduring to bee without his company, never ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as hee thought) to stand the faster on his fecte, hee marries him to his Neece (the daughter of *Joan de Acres*) sister to *Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloucester*, a man beloved and highly esteemed of all the Nobility: for whose sake he hoped *Gaveston* should

The Knights Templars arrested and committed to prison. Their dissolution.

The Lords prosecute Gaveston.

13 10.
Anno
Reg. 3.

A Parliament The King takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoever Articles the Lords would conclude in Parliament.

Gaveston banished into Ireland.

Gaveston recalled.

finde

finde the more favour amongst them, but all this could not shelter him. Either his behaviour, or their malice was such as they could not indure to have him about the King, who by making him so great lessened him, and the more he was enriched, the worse was his estate. The Subjects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their substance that was so wasted. For it is reported, the King gave him the Jewels of the Crowne, which hee sold to Merchant strangers, and conveyed much treasure out of the Kingdome, whereby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof hee complains to the King of France her Father.

These stunges put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *That unlesse he put from him Pierce Gaveston, and observe the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a perjured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeelds againe upon this message to the Banishment of his Minion: whose fortune being to have a weake master, was driven to these sudden extremities, and disgracefull expulsions, at their will who were his civiers; and who now obtaine this clause; *That if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome, he should bee condemned to death as an enemy to the State.* Ireland was now no more to protect him: France most unsafe for him (wait being there layd to apprehend him) in Flanders hee lurkes a while, but in great danger; and finding no where any security, backe againe hee adventures upon England, and into the Kings bosome (the sanctuary he thought would not be violated) he puts himselfe, and there is he received with as great joy as ever man could be. And to bee as farre out of the way and eye of envy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiving into grace, but they presently combine and take Armes, electing *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the sonne of *Edmond*, the second son of *Henry* the third: and was likewise Earle of *Leicester*, *Ferrers* and *Lincolne*, a most powerfull and popular Subject, with whom joynes *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Aymar de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Arundell* (with many other Barons.) But *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* the Kings Nephew, for that he would neyther offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warwein* remained a while doubtfull, and favouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbishop of *Canterbury* induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communalty, *Beseeching him to deliver up unto them Pierce Gaveston, or else to send him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition, they set forward in Armes toward the North. The King and *Gaveston*, withdrew to *Newcastle*, and there being advertised of the strength of the Lords, they take Ship (leaving the Queene in much griefe behind) and land at *Scarborough Castle*; whereinto the King puts *Gaveston* with the best forces he could provide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards *Warwickshire*.

The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Warwein* sent by the Earle of *Lancaster* to lay siege to the Castle, *Gaveston* is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreats thus much, that he might be brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should do with him what they pleased. The Earle of *Pembrooke* undertakes upon his honour hee should, but as his servants were

The Lords threaten the King.

Gaveston againe banished.

Gaveston returns.

The Lords take Armes.

Gaveston taken and beheaded.

conducting him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to the Castle of *Warwicke*, where after some consultation amongst the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest solicitation for his life,) they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This was the end of *Pierce Gaveston*, who for that he was the first Privie of this kind ever noted in our History, and was above a King in his life, deserves to have his Character amongst Princes being dead. Native hee was of *Gascoine*, and for the great service his father had done to this Crowne, entertained and bred up by King *Edward* the first, in companie with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that invested him into that high favour of his. Hee was of a goodly personage, of an haughtie and undauntable spirit, brave and hardy at Armes, as hee shewed himselfe in that Turnement which hee held at *Wallingford*, wherein hee challenged the best of the Nobility, and is sayd to have foyled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where he was Lieutenant during the short time of his banishment, he made a Journey into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and subdued the Rebels there, built *Newcastle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired Castle *Kenin*, and after passed up into *Munster* and *Thomond*, performing every where great service with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to have beene a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those he loved not; or put on any disguise upon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming upon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogance as was intollerable, which the privacie of a Kings favour usually begets in their Minions, whose understanding and judgement being dazled therewith, as is their sight who stand and look downe from off high places, never discern the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary favour shewed to one though he were the best of men, when it arises to an excessse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indangers the health of the whole, and especially if it light upon unworthinesse, or where is no desert, and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite than merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the second Civill Warre of *England*. For now having had their desire in this, and finding their owne power and the weakenesse of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatening the King that unlesse hee presently performed the same, they would constraine him thereunto by strong hand. Thus will Libertie never cease till it grow licentious; and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their Swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assemblable about *Dunstable*, making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Glocester* labours to appease them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were sent by the Pope to reforme these disorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to *Saint Albans* and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but the Letters which the Pope had written unto them, they refuse to receive, saying, *They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters.*

The description of *Pierce Gaveston*.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Glocester* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

Their submission.

1313.
Anno
Reg. 5.

Queene Isabel delivered of a Sonne.

A Parliament.

The Lords are pardoned. A fifteenth granted.

1314.
Anno
Reg. 6.

King Bruce grows strong in Scotland. King Edward goes with a mighty army into Scotland.

that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsels they would use; and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any businesse that concerned the kingdome. With which answer the Cardinalls returned to London. But the Prelates of England so labour the businesse as the Lords were content to yeeld up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels as they had taken of Pierce Gaveston at Newcastle, so that the King would graunt their petitions. And thereupon John Sandall Treasurer of the Kingdome, and Ingelard Warle Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint Albans to receive those things at their hands.

About this time Queene Isabel is delivered of a sonne at Winsor, whom Louys her brother, and other great men and Ladies of France, would have had christened by the name of her father Phillip, but the Nobility of England had him named Edward. And here the King keeps his Christmas, feasts the French with great Magnificence, and is sayd (or rather suspected) to be evill counselled by them against his Nobles, betweene whom there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serves to make it worse, suspicion causing all things to be taken in ill part.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at London, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murdering Pierce Gaveston, &c. Whereunto with one accord they answer: how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour, having taken Armes not for any contempt of his royall person, but to destroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was most highly disparaged; his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissention betweene him and his Subjects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and travell they could never have had an end. Besides they tell him plainly, they would now no longer attend vaine promises, nor be deluded with delays, as they had hitherto bene concerning their required Articles. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of Gloucester seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, and at length so farre prevailed with them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themselves to the King, and to crave pardon for what they had done, which they obtayned, and the King receives them into grace, as his loyall Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of Gaveston. And for this the State upon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. Guy de Beaucham Earle of Warwicke is here appointed to be one of the Kings Councell, who being a man much envied by such as possesse the King, shortly after dies, not without suspicion of poyson.

Whilst the State of England stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of Scotland grew strong by the providence of a vigilant King, who had not onely overcome the Scottish faction, and recovered the most of his owne Country, but also made spoyle on this, wasting all Northumberland in such sort, as King Edward awakened with the out-cries of his people, and the great dishonour of the Kingdome, is drawne to take Armes for redresse thereof, and enters Scotland with the greatest Army that ever yet went thither, consisting as the Scottish writers report, of 100. thousand men, whereof were great numbers of Flemings, Gascoines, Welsh and Irish, who in imagination had devoured the Country before they came thither.

ther, and thought not of Battailles but of deviding the prey. Besides, the King had with him most of the Nobilitie, and especiall men of England, except Thomas Earle of Lancaster, the Earles of Warwicke, Warrin and Arundell, who refused to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foresaid Articles.

The Castle of Sterling is the peece that is to be releaved, which chiefly now held out, defended by Phillip Mowbray a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successe of Bruce, had manned and victualled the same for many moneths. Neere to this place upon the River Bannock is incourted this great Army of England by Bruce, with thirty thousand Scots, a small number say their Writers, in respect of their enemies: but as men hardened with daily use of Warre and Domesticall evils, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoever was deare unto them. The advantage of the ground was theirs, having behinde unaccessable Rockes to defend them, before a Moorish uncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and covered them over with hurdles, so that the footemen might passe over safely without impediment, but it so confounded the horse, as it gave the Scots the day, and the greatest overthrow to England that ever it received. There perished in this Battaille (called of Bannocks Borrough) Gilbert the last Clare Earle of Gloucester, a maine Arch of the State of England, and Robert Lord Clifford the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord Tiptoft, the Lord Marshall, the Lord Giles de Argenton, the Lord Edmond de Mault, and 700. Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of sort: of common souldiers, theirs say fifty thousand, ours ten: taken prisoners, Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, Ralph de Mortelmere (who married Ioan de Acres, Countesse Dowager of Gloucester) with many others: the King and those who were preserved escaped by flight.

This defeat put Scotland both into Armes and Wealth, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this Kingdom for many yeares, as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great revenge. King Edward upon his coming backe to Yorke, shewed a great desire to repaire this dishonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sit downe by their losse. The poore Borderers have the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100. of them would flye from three Scots, saith Walsingham. To such a suddaine faintnesse are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which should give them spirit, are ill affected.

This distaster (a mischiefe never comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that ever before had bene knowne. A Parliament is called at London upon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of Victualls, which suddainly grew to be excessive. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with grasse should be sold for fifteene shillings, fatted with Corne for twenty shillings, the best Cow for twelve shillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three shillings foure pence, a fat Sheepe shorne, foure pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fat Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fat Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, foure Pygeons a penny, whosoever sold above should forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes to have bene no Calves, Lambes, Goslings, Chickings, young Pigeons to be sold, those dainties were not in use.

After these rates imposed, all kind of Victualls grew more scarce than before.

The Battell of Bannocks Borrough.

The defeat of the English.

A Parliament at London.

1315.
Anno
Reg. 8.
Rates for Victualls.

A Dearth
which lasted
3.years.

1317.
Anno
Reg. 10

The Wife of
the Earle of
Lancaster ta-
ken out of his
house at Can-
ford.

The King ad-
vertised of his
errors.

The miserable
affliction of
the Borderers.

A reconcili-
ation between
the King and
the Nobles.
And new oc-
casion of trou-
ble.

fore, and such a Murren followed of all kind of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruites of the earth, by the excessive raines and unseasonable weather, as provision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (such a just punishment had excesse and ryot inflicted thereon in those dayes) in so much as men put away their servants in great numbers, who having bene daintily bred, and now not able to work, scorning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which addes more misery to the Kingdome. Three yeares this affliction held, and was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sicknesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they received, as the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Notwithstanding could all this extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiete or other brake out, to hold in and increase the same. The wife of *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* is taken out of his house at *Canford* in *Dorset-shire*, by one *Richard Saint-Martin*, a deformed Dwarfie (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle *Warrein*: Clayming her for his Wife, and avowing how hee had layne with her before shee was married to the Earle, which the Lady herselfe to her perpetual ignominy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily averred. This base creature claymes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury*, whereunto shee was Heire: which without being supported by great Abbettors, hee would never have presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which being in so tender and reserved a businesse as marriage, added much to his other violations of order; and gave occasion and hardnesse to inferior persons to reproove his courses as may be noted by this passage. Being at the Celebration of the feast of *Pentecost* at dinner in the open Hall at *Westminster*, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-backe, and ryding about the Table delivers him a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he had of such as had done him, and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing many of unworthy parts, &c. which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselves, alleadging it not to be the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make sport. Search being made for this Woman, shee is found and examined who set her on. Shee confessed a Knight gave her mony to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and upon examination boldly confessed, hee did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and escapes without any further adoe.

Thus while the North parts were not onely infested with the *Scots*, but likewise by such of the English as under colour of using ayde for resistance, robbed and spoyle all where they came, to the miserable undoing of the people. Besides, *Robert Bruce* now absolute King of *Scots*, sends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the Title of a King, which he held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as evermore it doth in dissolute and dissentious times wherein the publicke is alway neglected.

But these mischiefs abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation between the King and the Earle of *Lancaster*, is made by the mediation of two Cardinals upon such conditions as were soone after unjustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by *Pomfret* with Letters sealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murdering the Earle, which

Messenger

Messenger is executed, his head is set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters refered to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were fayed or not, the report thereof cast an aspersiion upon the King; and won many to take part with the Earle. After this, upon an invasion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Torke*, a Parliament is assembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinall, and Clergy of *England*, yeeldes, faithfully to observe all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe against the *Scots*: *London* sets foorth 200. *Canterbury* 40. *Saint Albans* 10. and so of all Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leaved. Which comming to *Torke*; through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was dissolved, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

The next yeare after upon the rendring up of *Bermiche* to the *Scots* by the Treason of *Peter Spalding* who had the custody thereof; the King of *England* rayses an Army and beleagers it: the *Scots* to divert his forces, enters upon *England*, by other wayes, and were like to have surprised the Person of the Queene, lying neere *Torke*. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regayned the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaster* with Followers with-drawne himselfe upon discontent, hearing the King say, how he would give the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger, who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successor both of the Office, and private favour of *Gaveston*) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

Those of *Torke* and the Country adjacent, having receyved inestimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Army of 10000. men, and incounter them at *Milton* on *swayle*: but being not well led, nor experienced, they receyved the defeite, with the losse of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and seeing all things to succede ill with him, concludes a Truce with the *Scots* for two yeares, and againe returnes with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke beginning upon this occasion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, having in his licentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell unto divers men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the Land lay neere his, obtaines leave of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew great men likewise in those parts, not understanding it seemes any thing of the former bargaine, contract also for the same land, with the sayd *Sir William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoining to part of his, obtaines a more especiall leave of the King, being now his Chamber-laine, and buyes it out of all their hands.

The Earle of *Hereford* complains himselfe to the Earle of *Lancaster* (the refuge of all discontented men) who at *Sherborne* enters into a Confederation with divers Barons there Assembled, taking their oathes intermutually to live and dye together, in maintayning the right of the Kingdome, and to procure the Banishment of the two *Spencers* Father, and sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressours of the State, disposing of all things in Court at their Will, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes. Which the State accounted a mischiefe most intollerable and grievous unto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignity and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced to the over-throw of Justice and good order.

And

1318.
Anno
Reg. 11.
A Parliament
at London.

1319.
Anno
Reg. 12.
The Lord
Hugh Spencer
the yonger
succeeded
Gaveston in
the Office of
Lord Cham-
berlayne.

1321.
Anno
Reg. 14
Another oc-
casion of
revolt.

The Lords
oppose the
Spencers.

And take
Armes.

And under this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselves proceede not in that even way of right as they made shew, but follow the fury of their wills, being once out and astray, they seize upon, and make spoyle of the Lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinity with them, killing their servants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure. And comming armed thus to S. Albans they send to their King, residing then at London, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford & Chichester (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendered the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of those Traytors the Spencers condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Communalty of the land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such tooke part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished. The King returns answer, That Hugh Spences the Father was now beyond the Seas employed in his businesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinque-Ports according to his Office, and that it was against Law and Custome, they should be banished without being heard. Moreover that their request was voyde of Iustice and Reason, for that the sayd Spencers were ever ready to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L. L. could prove they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselves to the trial thereof. And besides swore he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardon to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdome, and violated the Royall Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approached to London, and lodged in the suburbes, till they obtayned leave of the King to enter into the City: Where they peremptorily urge their demands, which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condescend unto, and by his Edict published in Westminster Hall by the Earle of Hereford, are the Spencers banished the Kingdome, Hugh the Father keeps beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in England expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (having this obtained their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such security, as they gave over the provision for their owne defence.

Shortly after, there fell out an unexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had ever beene the Nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her Progresse towards Canterbury, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of Leedes, appertayning to the Lord Badlesmere (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her, and her traine, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neyther the Queene, or any else should enter there, without Letters from their Lord. The Queene herselfe goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer, whereupon shee is driven to take such lodging otherwhere as could bee provided. Of which indignity shee complains to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of Armed men out of London, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, Thomas Gulseper, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord Badlesmere to the Tower, and seizes upon all his goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with successe and the instigation of the Queene, suddainly direct his course to Chichester where he keeps his Christmas, and there provides for an Army against the Barons, whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their associates and yeeld themselves to his mercy, amongst whom were the two Roger Mortimers,

The King excuses the Spencers, Denies the Lords their demands.

The Lords come armed to London. The King yeelds unto them. The Earle of Hereford publishes the Kings Edict in Westminster Hall. The occasion of the Queens displeasure with the Lords. Shee is denyed lodging in the Castle of Leedes. The King takes the Castle of Leedes. Grows strong.

mers, men of great might and meanes, the Lord Hugh Audley, the Lord Maurice Barkley, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earles of Lancaster and Hereford seeing this suddaine change, withdrew themselves and their Companies from about Gloucester towards the North parts. The King follows them with his Army, wherein were the Earles of Athol and Angus, and at Burton upon Trent, where they had made head, discomfited their Forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at Burrough Brigs are encountred by Sir Simon Ward Shrieve of York, & Sir Andrew Harckley Constable of Carleil, who (after the Earle of Hereford was slaine in striving to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of Lancaster, with divers other Lords, and brought them to Pomfret, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in judgement with Edmond Earle of Kent his brother, the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle Warreine, Hugh Spencer lately created Earle of Winchester and others, sentence of death is given against Thomas Earle of Lancaster, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Traytor. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the Royall blood, and onely beheaded hee was the same day without the Towne of Pomfret before his owne Castle. And by the like judgement were Condemned, the Lord Roger Clifford, the Lord Warreine Lisle, the Lord William Tuchet, Thomas Maudit, Henry Bradburne, William Fitz-Williams, William Lord Cheyny, Thomas Lord Mowbray, Isoline Lord Danyll, all which were executed at Yorke. Shortly after the Lord Henry Teyes is taken, drawne, hanged and quartered at London, the Lord Aldenham at Windsor, the Lords Badlesmere and Ashburnham at Canterbury, the Lord Gifford at Gloucester; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terrour over the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are Confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility, that ever was shed in this manner in England, since William the first, which being such, and so much as it was, opened veynes for more to follow, and procured a most hideous revenge, which shortly after ensued. Thus is the beame of power turned, and Regality (now in the heavier scale) weighes downe all.

And presently upon this Master-woke, the King both to busie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilest the terrour thereof lasted, marches from Yorke with a mighty host (but small provisions) into Scotland. Where the Scots conveying themselves and all succours out of his way, put that want upon him, as confounded his great Army without blowes, forcing him to returne with much dishonour: And having passed farre within his owne Country, they assailed him at unawares, and had like to have taken his Person, as well as they did his Treasure, with the Earle of Richmond (with whom having miserably ranfackt all the Countrey over, even to the Walles of Yorke) they returne laden with mighty spoyles safe into Scotland; and this was the successe of this Vnfortunate King (not borne for Tryumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, he began to have a sence of the Execution of the Earle of Lancaster, which hee discovers upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suite to grant a pardon to one of the Earles Followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, he falls into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Councillors, which would urge him so to save the life of a most notorious Varlet, and would not speake one word for his neere kinsman the Earle of Lancaster: Who sayd he, had hee lived might have beene usefull to mee and

The Lords withdraw into the North parts and are overthrowne.

The execution of the Earle of Lancaster, with divers other Lords in divers places.

The first of any Earle or Baron of England that ever was executed upon Scaffolds, or otherwise, since the time of William the first. The Kings ill successe in Scotland.

1323

Anno Reg. 16

The Earle of
Castell degra-
ded and execu-
ted.

1324.
Anno
Reg. 17
A Parliament

The king is
denied a Sub-
sidie.

The Bishop of
Hereford accus-
ed of treason.
He refused to
answer.

The Bishop ta-
ken from the
barre.

The Bishop
being absent is
condemned *ex*
Officio.
The presump-
tion of the
Spencers.

The Earle of
Kent sent into
Gascogne.

and the whole Kingdome; but this fellow, the longer hee lives the more mischief he will commit, and therefore by the Soule of God, he should dye the death he had deserved. Sir Andrew Harkley, who was the man which tooke Prisoner the Earle of Lancaster at Burrough Briggess, being advanced for his service to the Earldome of Carleil, enjoyed his honour but a while: For the next yeare after, eyther thrust out into discontent, by the *Spencers* envying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great Match (as hee was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged and quartered at London for Treason, and remains amongst the examples of suddaine downe falls from high places, under an instant and ill governing Prince.

Occasion drew on a Parliament to consult, amongst other important businesses concerning the Sommons lately sent to King Edward, from the new King of France Charles le Bell (who succeeded his brother Phillip de Long) to come and doe his homage for *Gascogne*, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King should not goe in person at that time, but send some speciall men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

Besides in this Parliament, the King required a Subsidie both of the Clergie and Laity, for the redemption of John Brittain Earle of Richmond, lately taken prisoner by the *Scots*. But it was denyed, and alledged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of Hereford was arrested, and accused of high Treason before the King & his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whose suffragan he was (and who he sayd was his direct Iudge next the Pope) or without the consent of the rest of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craved the Kings Clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable, they tooke away their fellow Bishop from the Barre, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, till some other time the King should appoint for his answer to what hee was charged withall. Shortly after he was againe taken and convented as before, which the Cleargy understanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, Yorke, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men upon paine of Excommunication to forbear to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act, the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning those objections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

This act lost him the Clergy, and added power to the discontented party, which was now growne to be all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who enriched with the spoyles of the Barons, governed all at their pleasure, selling the Kings favour and shutting him up from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and lessened her household traine, which was the rocke whereon they perished.

The proceeding of the King of France against the King of England for the omission of his Homage, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the French, whereupon Edmond Earle of Kent the Kings brother is sent into *Gascogne*, but to little effect, the King of France was before hand, his power ready

ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that, eyther the King of England must goe in person to appease this trouble, or send his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the *Spencers* held it unsafe both for him and them, if hee should leave his Kingdom at home in so great, and generall discontents as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a small traine is sent over to accommodate the business, which she negotiates so well, as all quarrells should be ended upon condition the King of England would give to his sonne Edward the Duchie of *Aquitaine* with the Earldome of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to doe him Homage for the same, which after many consultations the King is wrought to yeeld unto.

The Prince is sent with the Bishop of Excester and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who here-in had her desire, and being wholly bent to revenge (whereof none are sayd to be more eager then women) found there, besides her great party in England, those who nourished that humour in her, amongst whom was chiefe Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, a gallant young Gentleman whom shee especially favoured. The Bishop of Excester perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discovers to the King so much as he observed of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queene and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of France to hasten their returne, which when he saw was neglected and delayed, hee caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdome, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on severall Coasts to oppose their landing.

The Queene to inflame her the more, is informed of a plot layd to murder her and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of England might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little forwardnesse in her brother to ayde or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of Haynault being then a Prince of great meanes, and likewise the Earle of Holland, to whose daughter Philippa shee contracts her sonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to transport her into England. Arriving at Harwich with the Prince, the Earle of Kent the Kings brother (whom shee brought with her from the Court of France) the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Roger Mortimer, and John brother to the Earle of Haynault with 2500. *Hennaways* and *Flemings*, she was received with great joy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishop of Hereford and Lincoln, who soone resorted unto her, as men who had lost, to recover their fortunes.

The King upon notice of this sudden and safe arrivall of the Queene, demands ayde of the City of London, which returns answer, That they would with all duty honour the King, Queene and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traitors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them. The King with his small Councell about him, reposing no assurance in this answer (after Proclamation made that none, upon paine of death should ayde the Queene, and commandement given to destroy all her adherents, onely her owne Person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of Kent excepted, and that whosoever brought the head of Roger Mortimer should have 1000. pounds) hee leaves the City, committing the keeping of the Tower

The Queene
is sent to ac-
commodate
the business
of France.

The Prince is
sent to doe his
homage for
the Duchy of
Aquitaine.

The Bishop of
Excester dis-
covers the
Queens plots.
The Queene
proclaimed
enemy to the
Kingdome.

The Queene
returnes with
forces.

1326
Anno
Reg. 19
The King de-
mands ayde of
the City of
London.

The King de-
parts towards
the West.
The Queene
followes.

2 Kings 24.

The Queenes
Proclamation

The King be-
takes him to
the Sea.

Hugh Spencer
the Father
hanged at
Bristol.

Tower to Sir *John Wenston* with the gard of his yonger sonne *John* of *Eltham*, and his Neece the Countesse of *Glocester* (first wife to *Pierce Gaveston*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady unfortunate by the over great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the West, hoping to finde ayde in those parts as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queene advertised of his course, marched after him (growing daily greater as she marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Bishop of *Hereford* preached before her and the whole assembly, and delivers the cause of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh*: and concludes most undivinely, that anaking and sicke head of a Kingdome, was of necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured. A most execrable Doctrine, and repugnant to the sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is evermore produced, to abuse mens *Credulity* and iustifie *Impiety* in whatsoever *Ambition* or *Malice* shall attempt: a sinne beyond all other that can be committed upon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was now, sed two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to Excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of her to be for the delivering the Kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be safe. And here Proclamation is made, *That nothing should be taken from any subject without paying ready money*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoever did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, six pence the hand, twelve pence the head, and that whosoever brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head should have 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Iustice, and an unnaturall presumption made to seeme right by power and Authority: An impotent Woman led with passion, and abused by wicked Councell, is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent sonne against the Father, to undertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who having other ends than hers, would worke beyond, though under her authority, what pleased themselves. And though the event (as commonly it doth in such attempts) proove worse than the intention of the undertaker; yet howsoever, the infamy of all what was acted, lyes foule and open upon her Memory, and no Apology extant any way to cover it, and therefore we must leave the same as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour of the State of *England* to have beene without her great Dowty, than to have had her example, the worst of a Queene, it ever yet had. The miserable King having his reputation (the maine support of Majesty), blowne up with the hurle winde; of his pursuers, found few or no hands to ayde him; So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Castle of *Bristol*, with what defence could be provided for the guarding thereof; he leaves to trust the Land, and commits himselfe to a more unfaithfull element, the Sea, with purpose eyther to hide himselfe a while in the Isle of *Lundy*, or to passe over into *Ireland*; but lost too and fir with contrary Winds (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his Steward with others were shrunk from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan* shire; where, though hee found not safety, he found love and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neath*.

The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Glocester*, where the Lords *Piercy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to *Bristol*: assailes & wins the Castle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Winchester*, without forme or tryall of Law: causing him to bee drawne and hanged on the common Gallows in his Coate of armour, cut up before hee

was

was dead, headed and quartered. This done, shee passe to *Hereford*, and the King being not to be found, Proclamation is made, that if he would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as he ought to doe, he should come and receive the government thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But he, either not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himselfe still concealed; Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) advantage is taken to dispose of the government, and the Prince who is now under their guard, is made Guardian of the kingdome, hath Fealty sworne unto him, and a new Chancellour and Treasurer are appointed.

Long it was not ere the King came to be discovered, as a person too great for any cover, and was by *Henry Earle of Lancaster*, brother to the late *Thomas*, *William Lord Zouch*, and *Ries ap Howell* taken & conveyed to the Castle of *Kenelworth*. The yonger *Spencer* with *Baldock* the Chancellour, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are sent to the Queene to *Hereford*. *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Glocester*) is drawne and hanged on a Gallows fifty foote high (wherein he was exalted above his Father, otherwise had the like execution) & likewise in his Coate-armour, whereon was written, *Quid gloriaris in malitia, Psal. 52.* *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foote lower than he: But *Baldock* in regard he was a Priest, had the favour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewise a litle before was the Earle of *Arundel* with two Barons, *John Danyll*, and *Thomas Micheldener* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

To accompany these mischiefs of the Countrey, the Commons of *London* made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King, to take their part, let out all prisoners, possesse them of the Towre, put to death the Constable thereof, Sir *John Weston*, murder the Bishop of *Exeter*, to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that being the Kings Treasurer, hee caused the Iustices Itinerants to sit in *London*, by whom they were grievously fined; and thus all is let out to liberty and confusion.

After a moneths stay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her sonne returning, kept Christmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemas at *London*, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depose the King, as unfit to governe (objecting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest son *Edward*: Which they did in the great Hall at *Westminster*, with the universall consent of the people there present, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* makes a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to invoke the King of Kings for him they had there chosen.

The Queene, either out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne, (whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience, looking back upon what shee had done, takes the election grievously to heart, inso much as her sonne to re-comfort her, swore hee would never accept of the Crowne without the consent of his Father; whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certaine number of Burgeses of every City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare unto him the election of his sonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and Royall dignity; whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolved to proceede as it thought good. The King being first privately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom he especially hated (for having especially offen-

The King taken prisoner.

A Parliament at London where the Prince is elected King.

1327.
Anno
Reg. 20

The King is brought to resigne his Crowne.

The forme of his resignation.

His Issue.

1327.
Anno
Reg. 1.

The Queene hath her joynture enlarged Twelve especiall men choſen for the government.

add them) the Bishops of Hereford and Lincoln were brought before the Assembly; to whom as ſoone as his paſſion (wherewith hee was overcharged) would give him leave: hee confeſſed, *How hee had bene miſguided (the common exuſe of a poore ſpirit) and done many things whereof now he repented, which if he were to governe againe, he would become a new man, and was moſt ſorrowfull to have ſo much offended the State, as it ſhould thus utterly reject him; but yet gave them thanks that they were ſo gracious unto him, as to elect his eldeſt ſonne for King; having ſpoken to this purpoſe, they proceed to the Ceremony of his reſignation (which chiefly conſiſted in the ſurrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, being the firſt that ever was ſcene in England, they could follow no precedent but muſt make one; and William Truſſell a Iudge put it into the ſtile of Law, to render it the more authentick; and pronounced the ſame in this manner: I William Truſſell in the name of all men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee Edward the Homage that was made to thee ſometime, and from this time forwards now following, I deſie thee and prive thee of all my royall power, and I ſhall never bee tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the laſt act and the firſt example of a depoeſed King, no leſſe diſhonourable to the State than to him. Hee was a Prince more weake than evill, and thoſe exorbitances of his mette with as great or greater in his people, who, as we ſee, dealt over roughly and uncivilly with him. Hee is reported by ſome to have bene learned (which perhaps might make him the ſofter) to have written Verſes when he was in priſon; to have Founded Oriall Colledge, and S^t Mary Hall in Oxford.

Hee had by his Wife Iſabell two ſons, Edward borne at Windſor, who ſucceeded him; and John ſurnamed of Eltham, who was created Earle of Cornwall, An. 1315, and dyed in the ſlowe of his youth in Scotland. And alſo two Daughters, Iſoane married to Dawid Prince of Scotland, and Elionor to the Duke of Gelders.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the ſecond.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.



Pon the reſignation of Edward the ſecond: Edward his ſonne of the age of fourteene yeares, began his Reigne the twentieth of January 1327, and ſends forth Proclamations of his Peace into all Shires, in this forme: Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, to N. N. our Sherife of S. greving. Whereas the Lord Edward, late King of England our Father, by the Common Conſcill and aſſent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other Chiefe men, with the whole Communitie of this Reulme, did voluntarily amovve himſelfe from the Government thereof, willing and granting that Wee as his eldeſt Sonne and Heire, ſhould aſſume the ſame, &c. Which Proclamation made to palliate a wrong, did but the more diſcover it. Within five dayes after hee was crowned at Weſtminſter by Walter Archbiſhop of Canterbury: At which ſolemnity the Queene made ſhew of great ſorrow and heavineſſe, but beeing after pacified by the enlargement of her Joynture (which tooke up three parts of the Kings Revenues) ſhee beganne to bee of better cheere. Twelve eſpeciall men are heere appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of ſit yeares to governe of himſelfe: The Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Yorke, the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Hereford, and Worceſter, Thomas Brotherton

therton Earle Marshall, Edmond Earle of Kent, John Earle Warzein, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Piercy, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Roſe; but the Queene and Roger Lord Mortimer uſurped this charge; and tooke all wholly to themſelves. And to buſie the preſent and uphold this Change, an expedition inſtantly is undertaken for Scotland, wherein (thoſe ſtrangers ſtill retained which the Queene brought over with her) are employed under the conduct of the Lord John Beaumont brother to the Earle of Hagnault, and at Yorke the whole Army were to meete, where the Engliſh (being not all of a party) quarrell with thoſe ſtrangers, and ſo great a conflict aroſe betweene them as coſt ſome blood, and was hardly appeaſed, an ill preſage of that journey.

At Stanhop Parke the Engliſh Army encounter the Scottiſh, and though the Engliſh were thrice greater, and might preſently have vanquiſhed them, yet by the treaſon of ſome great men (as it was bruited) they eſcaped all away, and nothing was done; ſo that the young King borne for victories, was deprived the honour of his firſt action, which yet, being not conducted by his owne ſpirit, was held more diſhonourable to others than to him. Vpon their returne, all the Hallowayes and Stipendiaries are ſent home into their owne Countreies.

During this buſineſſe, the depoeſed King remains priſoner at Killingworth, with the allowance of a hundreth Markes a moneth for his expences, deprived of all thoſe comforts the world ſhould yeeld him. His wife whom hee loved (though now the Author of all his miſery) ſends unto him letters and apparell, but excuſes her comming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought ſafe enough where he was, nor ſo ſtraightly lookt unto as they deſired to have him, being in the cuſtody of his Vncle the Earle of Lancaſter; and therefore they commit him to other Guardians, and men of the moſt rough natures could bee found, the Lord Mautrevers and Thomas Gourney, who from thence removed him to the Caſtle of Berckley in Gloceſter ſhire, where long hee ſtaid not, but was conveyed to Corſe Caſtle, and thence to other places up and downe to beguile and diſappoint his friends, by the uncertainty of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to reſtore him. Beſides, to diſguiſe him the more, and that he might not be eaſily known, they ſhave his head & beard, which as a ſervant of his Sir Thomas de la More, a Knight of Gloceſter ſhire reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of Gourney, who moſt barbarouſly cauſed the miſerable King to ſit on a Mole-hill whileſt the Barber ſhaved him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to waſh him withall, which the patient King (ſaith this Reporter) ſeeing, told them, *That in deſpight of them he would have warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall ſhed abundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this ſavage Iaylor put upon his annoynted Sovereign; as he re-conveyed him back to Berckley Caſtle, where ſhortly after he and Mautrevers cauſed him to be murdered in a moſt hideous manner, by thruſting up a hot Iron into his bowels through an hollow inſtrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how he came by his death: For the body being after laid forth, and viewed by many ſubſtantiall Citizens of Briſtoll and Gloceſter (called thither for that purpoſe) they could finde no ſigne either of wound or poyſon, ſo that their evidence confirmed the report that was given out, how he died of extreame griefe. This was the end of Edward the ſecond, within eight moneths after his depoeſing.

The deed-doers Mautrevers and Gourney though they had Commiſſion, and

An expedition into Scotland.

The Scots retire from Stanhop Parke, and nothing done.

The miſerable ſtate of the impriſoned King.

He is murdered at Berckley Caſtle.

and great hopes given them to doe as they did, yet being by those who were ashamed to vow it, they durst not abide the triall, but as fugitives fled presently their Countrey: *Gournay* three yeares after was taken at *Merseilles*, and murdered on the sea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deede cost, the judgement of God fell heavily, not onely upon the great contrivers, but even upon the whole kingdom: and what the issue of this present Prince, whose throne (though without his guilt) was thus set up on his fathers blood, sustained in after-ages, the many imbrued scaffolds, the divers bloudy fields, the infinite slaughters in the civill discord of their divided families, which the consumed race of the most part of all this present Nobility will testifie. But now for the present, the authors of this change use all meanes to increase and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilest the State in generall receives no great satisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not answered in that manner as they were conceived. The Queene Mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amisse in the Government, is now attributed to them and their Councell: So that discontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

The Kings marriage with *Philippa* of *Hainault* is solemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match betweene *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, son to *Robert Bruce*, and *Joane* sister to the King of *England*, which match by reason of the tender age of the Prince, being but seven yeares old, could promise little good. Besides, by the secret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *James Douglass*, the King surrenders by his Charter his title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, restores divers deedes, and instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous evidence called the *Ragman Role*, & many ancient Jewels and monuments, amongst which was the Black Crosse of *Scotland*, &c. Moreover any Englishman is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, unless he dwelt there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30 thousand Markes. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late deposed King, is accused and condemned upon his confession, for intending the restoring of his brother, and conferring with divers great men concerning the same, but without any manner of fact. This miserable Earle stood on the scaffold from one till five, and no executioner could be found to dispatch him, at length a silly wretch of the *Marshalsey* cut off his head.

These violences and displeasing courses in a new alteration, could not long hold without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is held at *Nottingham*, wherein all the power and glory of the Queene and *Mortimer* (being scarce of three yeares growth) were overthrowne; the Queene hath all her great joynture taken from her, and put to her pension of 1000 pounds per annum; *Mortimer* is accused to have procured the late Kings death; to be the Author of the Scots safe escaping from *Stanhope Parke*, corrupted with the gift of 20000 pounds: to have procured the late marriage, and peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and kingdom: to have consumed the Kings Treasure, besides all what was taken from the *Spencers*, to have beene too familiar with the Queene, &c. And for these hainous offences is condemned of high Treason, sent up to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallows at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained 2 dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders. Such were the

tragicall

1328
Anno
Reg. 2.

A Parliament
at North.
A dishonourable
peace
made with
Scotland.

A Parliament
at Nottingham.

Articles against
Mortimer.

He is hanged
at Tyburne.

tragicall and bloody returns, those ambitious supplanters of others, got by exchange of the time, which now, may seeme, made the world weary of such violences, and more wary to runne into them: And the King growing to yeares of more abilitie to governe of himselfe, wrought a greater respect of his service in those who were of power about him, seeing him to be of a spirit likely to goe through with his worke, and therefore they use their best advice to put him into courses that might bee most honourable for him and the kingdom. The stains which his youth had received by such as governed the same, are now discovered, and meanes devised how to take them off. And withall, occasions fall out to put him into action.

And first, a new King of *France* lately crowned (upon the death of *Charles le Bell* without issue Male) requires his homage according to the custome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *France* held of that Crowne: whereunto though King *Edward* was supposed to have the better right, yet seeing *Philip de Valois* was now in possession of the same, and himselfe then young, his owne kingdom factious, turbulent, and unsetled, hee was not as yet otherwise than by Law (which seldom gets a Crowne) able to debate his Title; and therefore is content to temporize, and goe over in person to performe this ceremony, which did much prejudice his after claime, laid an imputation upon the justnesse of his cause, having thereby acknowledged & made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betweene them stood thus: *Philip le Bell* Father to *Isabel* Mother to King *Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which all were successively Kings of *France*, and died without any issue male to inherite the kingdom; and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest son had a daughter, whom *Eudes* Earle of *Bologne* her Vncle by the mother laboured to have crowned Queene; yet for that it was adjudged contrary to the *Salique Law*, which debarred Women from the succession, *Philip* the younger brother of *Louis* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Philip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succede him by the force of the same Law (which passed now as a case adjudged) without any controversy. *Charles* dying, leaves his wife young with childe: difference arises about the Regencie of that kingdom, between King *Ed.* of *England* the Nephew, & *Philip de Valois*, Cozen-german to the last King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer than hee, yet was the Regencie adjudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought forth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capeable of the Crowne, than King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was uncapable, as they alleged.

The Queene at length delivered of a daughter the processe is ended, and *Philip* received and crowned King of *France* by their *Salique Law*, maintained to be unviolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meane of his preferment; and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after upon Summons given (as is aforesaid) goes over and meetes King *Philip* at *Amiens*; where by the Councels of both Kings two especiall points are debated, the one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King *Philip*, but denied by that of King *Edward*. The second point, for the Lands in *Guien*, which the last King *Charles* had detained as his; whereof the Councell of King *Edward* demanded restitution, as appertaining to that Duchy. The Composition for this last point was easie, in regard of the Treatie of peace made betweene the said King *Charles* and

King *Edward* is summoned to doe his homage to *Philip de Valois* King of *France*.

The Title of King *Edward* to the Crowne of *France*.

1331
Anno
Reg. 5.

lean Tillet.
King Edward
doth homage
to the French
King.

The forme of
the homage.

King Edward
returns out
of France, en-
tertains the
Scottish busi-
nesse.
Edward Balliol
comes out of
France, defea-
ted his oppo-
sers, and is
crowned King
of Scots.

and Edward the second, the last of May 1325, wherein their rights were fa-
ved by protestations, reciprocally, advised, and received in offer and accep-
tance of Homage made to the said King Charles by this Edward before hee
was King, which protestations were agreed to be followed and repeated in
this, with covenant, that if King Edward would pursue his right in Parlia-
ment, hee should have Iustice done him accordingly for those things in con-
troversie. Now for the first point concerning the quality of his Homage,
it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should be done and
received according to the usuall manner of former Kings, with sufficient
time granted to King Edward to inquire of the said quality, and to make
his declaration thereof. And thereupon the sixt of June 1329, King Edward
in a crimson Velvet gowne imbroydered with Leopards, with his Crowne
on his head, his Sword by his side, and golden Spurres on his heeles, pre-
sents himselfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at Amiens before
King Philip, sitting in a Chaire of Estate in a Velvet Gowne of a Violet oo-
lour, imbroydered with Flowres de lis of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and
his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Vis-
count Melun Chamberlaine of France, first commands King Edward to put
off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres, and to kneele downe, which
hee did on a crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip, and then the Vis-
count putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of
France, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: *You be-
come Liegeman to the King my Master here present as Duke of Guyene and
Peere of France; and you promise to beare Faith and Loyaltie unto him: Say
Yea, and King Edward said Yea, and kissethe King of France (as the Lord of
the Fee) in the mouth; the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of
Ponthieu.*

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, active,
haughty, and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom he
did, bred that rancor in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome
that ceremony had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually beene
exacted by King Philip, whom their owne Historians blame for standing so
much upon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and
likely to shake his new gotten Throne than any other whatsoever: to whose
passion considering the fiery heate of his youth, hee should rather have mi-
nistr'd Oyle than Vineger, and more hospitably entertained him in his Court
comming with that State and Magnificence, as hee did, attended with the
best of all the Kingdoms of England to shew what he was, and to beget a re-
spect of his high estate. But these are the errors of improvident Princes,
who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselves and their
subjects, that ever suffer the worst & are sure to pay dearly for others faults.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swollen for revenge,
the King of England returns to settle his affaires at home, where Scottish bu-
dinesses fall out to entertaine him. The late peace concluded with them is
held so dishonourable, as it must not hold, and to breake the same followed
an occasion begun upon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King
(the affliction of kingdoms) with the emulation and factions in great men,
put Edward Balliol sonne to John Balliol (sometime King of Scotland) thirty
two yeares after his Fathers deposition, to attempt the recovery of that
Crowne. And out of France, where he had all that while remained, hee
comes by the solicitation of his friends into England, where hee was per-
mitted under hand to get ayde, and had all such Scots and English who were

of the faction against Bruce to take his part, and with them he suddenly as-
sayles those who had the government of that kingdome, during the nonage
of the young King, David (being at that time with the King of France) and
overcame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and
thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately crow-
ned King of Scotland at Scone. But this party being not so potent as they
could maintaine and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it,
he was forced notwithstanding this great defeite, to retire him into England
to get more ayde of King Edward; who now shewes himselfe in the action,
joynes with Balliol against his brother-in-law King David, goes in person with
a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three moneths siege, being
valiantly defended by the Lord Seton, was againe taken in, and the Army of
the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at Halidowne hill utterly defeated:
where were slaine seven Earles, 90. Knights and Barons, foure hundred
Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Wri-
ters report, theirs fourteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is
Balliol returned to his miserable kingdome.

In this oppugnation of Berwick, though my haste be great, I must not so
much trespassse Vertue, as to overpasse one memorable particular, recorded
by the Scottish Writers, which is, how the Lord Seton seeing all reliefe fail-
ing, and the assaults violent, as hee could not long hold out, conditions with
King Edward, if rescue came not at such a day to render him up the Towne;
and for assurance delivers him two of his sonnes. Shortly after King Edward,
having notice of the Scottish Army, approaching with greater power and
speede than hee expected, and likely to be there before the day, summons
the Lord Seton to render the Towne presently, otherwise hee should see his two
sonnes executed before his face, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within
sight of the Towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and under the hand
of the Executioner; Wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betweene those
powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe,
his Wife the Mother of those sonnes, a Lady more than a Woman, comes
unto him, exhorts him *To remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity
to his Countrey, the dignity of his noble Family, that they had other children left
though these were destroyed, and besides themselves were not so old, but that they
might have more. How those, if they should be preserved from death at this
time, might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion. And what a
shaine hee should lay on the name of Seton, and their posterity forever, by a
base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed unto him: whereby also
hee was not certaine whether hee should preserve his children or no: For how
could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would
performe the last. And therefore besought him that hee would not preferre an
uncertaine and momentany benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignomy.*
And so recovering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from
the Walls, into some other partes aside, that he might not be spectator of the
execution of his innocent Children.

The next yeare after this defeite at Halidowne Hill, Edward Balliol King of
Scots, at New Castle doth Homage to the King of England as his superiour
Lord, and takes his Oath of Fealty, binding himselfe and his heires to hold that
Kingdome of him and his successours for ever, with the inheritance of five Coun-
ties next adjoining to the borders, so large a part yeelds he to forgoe, ra-
ther than to be in danger to lose the whole, which yet could not secure his
estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which

Berwick reco-
vered.

The Battell of
Halidown hill.

A memorable
act in the op-
pugnation of
Berwick.

1333
Anno
Reg. 7.

Edward Balliol
doth homage
for the king-
dome of Scot-
land.

most

A Parliament
at London.A remarkable
consideration.1336
Anno
Reg. 10Robert de Ar-
tois discontented
with the
French King.

Jean Tillet.

Robert de Ar-
tois comes into
England.

most part of the Nobles of Scotland conceived upon this act of alienation, and subjection of their Countrey, inasmuch as it gave both Kings continually occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite Treasure. There was granted to the King of England for these Wars a fifteenth of the Temporality, a twelfth of Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament holden at London. And three yeares together the King goes in person with Armies into those parts, and never returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: inasmuch as it may move us to admire, how it could be possible, that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted, could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battell within these fifty yeares past, and yet still to be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their owne quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt upon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deserving to have had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to have shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

The reason that moved King Edward with such violence to prosecute the businesse of Scotland, was out of a desire so to settle the same, as he might be wholly for the designs he had upon France, which chiefly he intended, and was the sooner put thereto by the instigation of Robert de Artois, who being chased from thence by King Philip his brother-in-law, comes over into England, and here is entertained with great honour.

This Robert a Prince of the blood of France, descended from Robert sonne to Louis the eighth, brother to S. Louis, had long contention with Maude his Aunte Countesse of Burgogne about the Earldome of Artois; and presuming upon his owne power, his alliance with King Philip, who had married his sister, and the service hee had done in advancing him to the Crowne, counterfeites a Decree thereby to overthrow his Aunces right; which being afterward discovered, made it the more, and moved the French King to give judgement on her side, so that the County of Artois was by arrest of Parliament confirmed upon Maude, which so offended Robert, as in his rage he openly said, *He would unmake the King by the same power he made him.* Which rash menace uttered before many witnesses, so stung the French King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but failing therein, causes him to be proclaimed Traytor, confiscates all his estate, forbids his Subjects whosoever, either without or within the kingdom, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receive him, comfort, counsell, or ayde him, upon paine of confiscation of body and goods: And withall charges them by any meanes to seise upon his person, and to send him prisoner unto him. Whereupon this chafed Prince, finding no place on that side safe for him, over hee comes into England, is joyfully entertained by King Edward, made of his Councell, invested in the Earldome of Richmond, and here is he the kindle fire betwene these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted above an hundred yeares after, and the smoake thereof much longer. First hee discovers to King Edward the secrets of their Councels at France, and what meanes had beene used for the advancement of King Philip, whose Title hee now disapproves, and prefers that of King Edward, as most just; and a Declaration is published and sent to the Pope, and all the neighbour Princes, shewing the usurpation of Philip de Valois upon that Crowne.

Now had King Edward ever since his returne from Amiens, prepared to make

make good his party to oppose the French King, and by the assistance of his Father-in-law William Earle of Haynault, combined with the Dukes of Brabant and Gelders, the Earle of Juliers, the Archbishop of Cologne, Valeran his brother, John of Haynault, and other Princes of Germany. And besides, had of late obtained by great gifts of Louys de Bavie, the present Emperour, to be Vicar General of the Empire, whereby he was to have all those Princes confiners upon France, who held of the same, to doe him service. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that he had stood for him against his competitor Frederick of Austria, with whom the French King tooke part; and besides hee had married King Edwards wives sister, which might be a motive to procure him this honour. Then seeks he to gaine and draw in the Flemings, whose Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which ever entertained a kinde of liberty among themselves, were easily won to take part with King Edward, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the Wools of this kingdom, which by a Parliament holden at London, Anno Reg. 9. were prohibited to be transported unwrought. That Clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priviledges and Liberties allowed to such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabit. Besides it was enacted, that none should wear other than English Cloth, except the King, Queene, and their Children; that no man should wear any facing of silkes or furs, but such as could spend 100 pounds per annum. But those Ordinances (more beneficiall to this kingdom than these Wars will be) were upon this new entertained correspondence with the people of Flanders, soone after neglected; but yet the making of cloth continued, and many come out of Flanders to exercise that trade in England.

Now there was among the Flemings one Jaques de Arteville, Citizen of Gaunt, a Brewer as some say (but of more than Beere) a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chieftaine in their tumults; him King Edward gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assaile the French King upon any occasion.

Having thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are devised to raise monies at home to supply this businesse. A tenth penny of Townes and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy is granted in a Parliament at Northampton. All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy Warre, is taken out for the Kings use in this. The next yeare after, all the goods of three Orders of Monkes, Lombards, Cluniagues, and Cistercences, are likewise seised into the Kings hands, and the like Subsidie as before granted at Nottingham. Honours are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action. Henry of Lancaster the younger is created Earle of Derby, William Mountacute Earle of Salisbury, Hugh Audley Earle of Gloucester, William Clinton Earle of Huntingdon, William Bohun Earle of Northampton, Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke. Prince Edward was likewise at this time created Earle of Chester, and Duke of Cornwall. In Anno Reg. 12. at a Parliament at Northampton, (as some write in the absence of the King) was granted by the Laity, one halfe of their wools, but of the Clergy was leaved the whole, and they were caused to pay nine Markes for every sack of fine Wooll. The next yeare after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Commonalty. And now for the better managing of this worke abroad (having well accommodated the Scottish affaires) he goes over into Flanders, takes with him the Queene and Children, lyes at Antwerp, where by perswasion of the Flemings he tooke upon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of France, whereby they held they might the better justifie their partaking in his

King Edward
made Vicar
General of
the Empire.The making of
cloth introduced
in this
kingdome.
The first sumptuary
Law we
finde in our
History.King Edward
wins Jaques de
ArtevilleMeanes used
for Money.1338
Anno
Reg. 12.
A Subsidie of
Wooll:
King Edward
goes into Flan-
ders with his
wife and chil-
dren.

The French
Kings parta-
kers.

Meanes to ap-
pease these
two Kings.

The French
King seises on
the Duchy of
Guyen.
King Edward
enters into
France.

Froissart.

The Knights
of the Hare.

1330

Anno
Reg. 14

A Parliament
at London.

his quarrell, and dispencc with their Oath formerly made to the French King, having besides bound themselves in 20 hundred thousand Crownes, never to beare Armes against the King of France, and thereupon the league was established betweene them and King Edward. The French King was not behinde in his preparations and confederacies, having to take his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of Rhene (who covenanted to serve him against King Edward and his adherents with three hundred Horse for 5600 Florins.) The Bishop of Mentz, Albert and Otho Dukes of Austria, Theodore Marquess of Monferat, Amé Earle of Geneva, besides many Princes of Estate, and divers great Captaines out of Germany, French-county, Savoy, Dauphine, Spaine and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World are either in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple: and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of Sicile a great Astrologer, who devined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to France, to have accorded them, which would not be.

The preface of this Warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this side King Edward sets upon Cambray defended by the French. Philip on the other, seises on the Duchy of Guyen, and thither sends Conte d'Eu Constable of France, with the Earles of Foix and Arminiaque, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides, hee hath a great Navy at Sea which committed much spoyle on the coast of England. King Edward enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierache, approaches neere to King Philip. Both Armies were lodged betweene Viron joffe, and la Flamenguerre, the day of the fight appointed upon the Friday after, the Battels on both sides made ready, the advantage of number was on the French; but both Armies furnished with brave men of Warre, and circumspett, depart without encounter; the French esteeming it no discretion to put the person and state of their King to the hazard of battell within his owne Kingdome: and the English consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assaile them: and so they passed the day in countenances, and nothing was done. Onely this accident fell out, which after gave matter of sport: A Hare starting before the head of the French Army, a great shout was suddenly made, which they who were behinde supposing to have beene upon the on-set of a Battell, disposed themselves to fight; some Esquires for their more encouragement, are according to the custome presently knighted, who were ever after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The next morning early both Kings dislodge, the French retires to Paris, the King of England into Brabant, where after he had strongly fastened his Confederates, and disposed of his affaires, he leaves the Queene and returns into England about Candlemasse, having beene in Brabant about a yeare, lands at the Towre about Midnight, (and finding it unguarded, was much displeased) sends for the Maior of London, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellour & Treasurer, with John S. Paul, Michael Watch, Philip Thorp, Henry Stratford Clergy-men (who it seemes were Officers for his receites) and John Scaner Iustice of the Bench: All which, except the Chancellour were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Iustice and Accountants upon inquiry made of their unjust proceeding.

Then calls hee a Parliament at London in Lent, which granted unto him for custome of every sack of Wooll 40 shillings; for every 300 wooll-felts 40 shillings; for

for every last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises according to that rate; the same to indure from that Easter to the Whitsonide twelve moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of goods; of forreigne Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen the ninth Sheafe, the ninth Floece, the ninth Lambe for two yeares. Also another tenth of the Clergy. And for his present supply, hee had loanes of divers persons, and the City of London lent 20000 Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to divers kindes of offenders) remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Relieves and Scutage unto the first time of his going into Flanders: Besides all aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his reigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages both of his Fermors and others any way due in the time of his progenitors and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his Reigne: (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paid into his Exchequer) and heere he likewise confirms the great Charter.

During King Edwards abode in England, William Montague Earle of Salisbury, and Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke, left in Flanders to oppose the proceeding of the French, having performed divers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming overmuch upon their fortune, were in an encounter about Lille, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris, to the great joy of the French King: who now to impeach the King of England's returne, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundredth Sayle of ships (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing: Whereof King Edward being advertised, provides great strength, with the like number of ships, and sets out at Sea upon Midsummer Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley, and encounters his Enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and advantage of winde and sunne, as he utterly defeited their whole Navy, tooke or sunke all their ships, slue thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yeeld. Most of the French, rather than to endure the Arrowes, and sharpe Swords of the English, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the French Kings lester, set on to give him notice of this overthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the sudden) said; and oftentimes reiterated the same; Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen. The King at length asked him Why: For that, said he, They durst not leape out of their ships into the sea, as our brave Frenchmen did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow: which the French attribute to Nicholas Buchet one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ships with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens, that the Avarice of Commanders have beene the occasion of great defeits.

But this losse much abated the power of the French King, who notwithstanding in these Martiall times was soone supplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mighty head against this victorious, powerfull, and freshly furnished King of England: who suddenly set downe before Tourney, with all his owne and his adherents Forces. And from Ebyn (a place neere by where hee lodged) sends his Cartill the 17 of Iuly, to Philip de Valois, lodging at S. Andrew les Airs with his puissant

Great subsidies
granted.
Customs at
first but tem-
porary.

Pardons and
Remission of
ancient debts.

Retribution.

The Earles of
Salisbury and
Suffolke taken
prisoners in
France.

King Edward
vanquishes the
French Kings
great Navy.

Jean Tillet.

King Edward
besieges Tour-
ney, and sends
his challenge
to the French
King.

puissant Army, declaring how he with the power of his owne kingdome, and ayde of the Flemings, was come to recover his right in the kingdome of France unjustly detained from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and man: and that seeing no other meanes would serve, he was forced in this manner to have recourse to his sword. Notwithstanding seeing the businesse was betwene them two, he offers for the avoyding of Christian blood, and devastation of the Countrey, to try the same by combat in close Campe body to body, or each of them accompanied with 100 choyce persons: which if the said Philip refused, then to strike battell within ten dayes after, before the City of Tournay.

Philip de Valois returnes answer the last of Iuly in this manner, Philip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: We have perused your letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certayne requests to the said Philip: and for that it appears those letters and requests were not written or made unto us, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise we understand how you, led by wilfulnesse, without all reason, have entred our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small damage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the duty of a Liegeman: having lately sworne Homage unto us, acknowledging us, as by right King of France, and have promised that obedience which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-lord, as is manifest by your Letters Patents under your great Seale, which wee have with us, and you likewise ought to have the same with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdome, as wee firmly hope in Christ (from whom we have our power) to doe. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begun, our journey undertaken for the East is hindred, no small number of Christians there murdered, the holy service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you alledge you possesse the ayde of the Flemings, wee are assuredly perswaded, that they with the Communitie of their Countrey, will so beare themselves towards our Cousen their Earle and us their superiour Lords, as they will not omit to observe their honour and fidelity, whatsoever hath beene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne private, contrary to the common good.

The French write, how King Philip with this Letter sent word to King Edward, how by his Cartell he adventured nothing of his owne, but only exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If he would hazard the kingdome of England, (though it were lesse) against the kingdome of France, the said king Philip would enter combat in close camp with him, on condition the V. for should enjoy both kingdoms. But that, they say, K. Edward would not doe.

Three moneths the siege of Tournay had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Christendome bent up on this action; both kingdomes deeply engaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull event thereof, when Jane de Valois sister to Philip, widow of William late Duke of Haynault, and mother to Philippa wife to King Edward, a Princeesse of excellent vertue, came from Fountenelles where shee had rendered her selfe a Nun, vowed to God, to mediate a peace betwene these two intraged Kings, her brother and her sonne-in-law, and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift up for blood, travailling from one to another (stubbornely bent to their intentions) & never left them (though often denied) till shee had with great patience, and wise counsell qualified their boyling passions, in such sort as shee obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both these great Armies are dissolved. The French King returnes home,

and

and so doth the King of England with his Queene: who had remained in those parts three yeares; and had there brought forth two sonne, Lionell afterwards Duke of Clarence, and John borne at Gant, who first was Earle of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaster.

But King Edwards condescending to this suddaine truce, had indeede no other motive than the want of his supplies of Treasure, which came shortly to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were layd on his Subjects. And whereas he had upon his last returne into England, in great displeasure, remooved his Chancellour, & imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers (most of them Clergy men) and still held them in durance, John Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury, (on whom the King layd the blame of his wants) writes him a most bold and peremptory Letter to this effect: first shewing him, how it was for the safety of Kings and their Kingdomes, to use grave and wise Counsellors, alledging many examples of holy Writ of the flourishing happinesse of such as took that course, and their infelicity who followed the contrary. Then bids him to remember how his father led by evil counsell vexed the Kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the Law of the Land, drivers of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what hapned thereby unto him. Also to old remembrance how himselfe at first, through evil Counsell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people. But afterwards, by the great circumspection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as he recovered them, and now possessed them in such sort as they all, both Clergy and Lay, have yielded their helping hands, more to him than to any of his Progenitors, whereby he had gloriously triumphed over his enemies, the French and Scots, and is reputed the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as affect their owne profit more than his honour, on the welfare of his people, he had caused Clergy men and others to be arrested, and held in prison by the undue proceeding, contrary to the Lawes of England (which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to observe) and against Magna Charta, which whosoever shall presume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope Innocent the fourth) Excommunicate. So that hereby he incurred no small danger to his soules, and detriment to the State and honour. Then he tells him, how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sort as he should not be able to prosecute his War in hand, and thereby give his enemies heart and occasion to rise against him, to the hazard of his honour and the Kingdome. And therefore advises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell he could not governe his kingdome, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amiss. And whereas, sayd he, certayne necre about you by their adulation and soothing, falsly betray and deceive you, we here denounce them excommunicate, and beseech you as your spirituall Father, that you hold them so. Besides, he urges him, that whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the City of Tournay was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made to whose hands, from the beginning of the War, the Woods and manies are committed to be bestowed, & by whose default the City of Tournay was not subdued, but lost in such manner as it was; and that as an equall and wise Lord he would chastise such as were culpable, and not condonne or misdeeme his Subjects without sufficient tryall, &c. The letter bare date the 1. of January.

Then writes he also to Robert Bousier Chancellor of England shewing him what contribution the Clergy had yielded to the K. by their free consents, & that none other were to bee exacted of them. Requiring him to doe no

X

thing

The French King answer to the Challenge.

A mediation for peace.

A Truce concluded.

Anno Reg. 35.

John Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury his letters to king Edward.

thing prejudiciall to the Law of Magna Charta; and that if any writ, Commission, or Precept had gone out of the Chancery contrary therunto, or the Priviledges and Liberties of the Church or Kingdome, he should within ten dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as he said the Chancellour was bound to doe) revoke and annull the same. This bare date the 28. of January.

Another Letter he likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that Whereas contrary to the priviledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contayned in Magna Charta, John de Saint Paul, Michael de Wally, Robert Chickwill, John Thorpe and Henry Salsford, were arrested, committed to prison, and there detained without being indicted, or convicted of any notorious crimes; and that whosoever were aiding or counselling to this proceeding, had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which hee had caused to be published both in his owne Diocess, and in all other of his suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliver the said Prisoners, otherwise (hee plainly writes) that according to his Pastoral charge, he must proceede to the execution of the sentence. Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intension to include the King, Queen, or their Children, so farre as they might by Law be excused.

To this purpose he likewise sends to the Bishop of London, and other his Suffragan Bishops, (whom after having complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but fix up in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those Articles of Magna Charta which are a large added to his letter, to the end (as he said) that every man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Archbishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his letters written to the Bishop of London, wherein, after having declared how much he had ever honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of manifest wrong, for that Relying upon his Counsell, he was put at first upon this action against the French King, and by him assured he should not want treasure and meanes for the performance thereof, and that hee needed not to care but onely to provide men to execute the works. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the said Archbishop and his Officials, those provisions granted him by his Subjects in Parliament, were in so slender proportion levied, and with such delays sent over, as hee was prest of necessity (to his great griefe and shame) to descend to the late truce, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throw himselfe into the gulph of the Persurers in such sort, as having just cause, hee began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: some of whom upon apparant notice of their ill administration of justice, their corruptions and oppression of his Subjects, hee removed from their places and some of inferiour degree culpable of the same offences, hee committed to Prison, and there decryned them, to the end hee might finde out by their examinations the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could so well informe him as the Archbishop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole administration of the Kingdom. And therefore desirous to confer with him at London, he had of late sent an especiall messenger, his trusty servant Nicolas de Canrelupe, that he should repaire thither, which the Archbishop refused to doe, alledging how he stood in feare of some about the King, and therefore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent Ralph Stafford, steward of his house, with safe conduct under his great Seale for the Archbishops security. Notwithstanding he refuses to come, returning word, he would have no conference with the King but in open Parliament: which at that time (said the King) was not for

Quatenus de
jure poterunt
excusari.

King Edward
accuses the
Archbishop of
false dealing.

speciall reasons convenient to be called. Then aggravates hee the undutifull contempt of the Archbishop and his hypocritical dealing with him: knowing that although by hereditary right, and the divine grace he was advanced to that sublimitie of regall power, he held it alwayes to have beene a desirable thing to abuse the greatness thereof, and how he affected nothing more in this world, than to governe his Subjects with mildnesse, clemency, and moderation of Justice: that he might with peace enjoy their love. And how notwithstanding the Archbishop had most injuriously by his Letters published in divers parts, wrote his innocency, and flattered the faithfull service of his Counsaillors and Officers, who executed his regall justice, exclaiming how the people were oppressed, the Clergy impoverished, the Kingdome agrieved with taxation and all kind of exactions: which the King knewes was to no other end, but to raise sedition amongst his people, and to withdraw their love and obedience from him. Lastly, to give notice of the Archbishops corruption, he declares how himselfe being under age, had through his counsell made so many prodigall acquisitions, prohibited alienations, and excessive gifts, as thereby his treasure was utterly exhausted, and his revenues diminished, and how the Archbishop corrupted with bribes, admitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due unto him, applying to his proper use, or to persons in deserving many commodities, and revenues which should have beene preserved for his necessary provisions. And therefore concluded, unless he desisted from this rebellious obstinacie, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceede against him: injoyning them to publish all and singular these his malignities, and to cause others to doe the like, for the manifestation of his own pious and princely intension, in relieving his owne and his Subjects wrongs. This Letter was sayd to have beene penned by Adam Bishop of Winchester, and bare date the 12. of February, Anno Reg. 15.

Thus the King and his officers, whose proceedings must not receive a check are cleared, and the imputation rests upon the Archbishop, who is charged with great accounts, and pressed by such as lent the King money, to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at London, being earnestly petitioned by the whole assembly of the three Estates, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed, and that whosoever of the Kings Officers infringed the same, should lose their place: that the high Officers of the Kingdome should as in former times, be elected by Parliament. The King stood firme upon his owne election and prerogative, but yet yielded, (in regard to have his present turne served, as himselfe after confessed) these Officers should receive an oath in Parliament, to doe justice unto all men in their Offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale, both for that, and many other grants of his to the Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part presently after revoked.

The truce agreed on before Turney for one year, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinalls from the Pope, concluded at Arras, which yeelded some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischief. Louis of Bavier (intituled Emperour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his sworn confederate, and revokes the Vicarsship of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the King of England, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appears by his Letters to King Edward, which are againe by him fully and discretely answered.

But in steed of this remote and unconstant confederate whose power lay without the limits of France) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier means to offend, within the body of that Kingdome. The inheritance

Vil. Stat. 15.
Edward 3.

The Articles
Vil. Appen.

The Emperor
revokes the
Vicariate, the
reason why.
Vid. Appen.

The contro-
versie for the
Duchy of
Brittaine.

Monfort doth
homage for
the Duchy of
Brittaine to
King Edward.

Monfort taken
prisoner.
His wife pro-
secutes her
husbands
quarrell.

Forces sent
over into
Brittaine.

The death of
Robert de
Artois.

heritance of the Duchy of Brittain is in controversie betweene Charles de Blois, Nephew to King Phillip, and John de Monfort, upon this title: Arthur Duke of Brittain had by Beatrix his first wife, two sonnes, John and Guy, by Yolande Countesse of Monfort his second wife, John de Monfort, John the eldest sonne of Arthur having no issue, ordayned Jane his Neece, daughter to his brother Guy (who died before him) to succede him in the Duchy. This Jane, Charles de Blois marries on condition his issue by her should inherite the same, wherein after consummation of the Marriage he is invested, and had homage done unto him during the life of John their Vncle. But after his death, John de Monfort claymes the Duchy, comes to Paris to doe homage for the same to the French King. Charles de Blois in the right of his wife, opposes him, the controversie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence passeth on the side of Charles. Monfort enraged repaires to the King of England, doth his homage unto him for the Duchy, is received with great applause, and his title (howsoever held bad at home) is here made to bee good. Returning backe into Brittain both with comfort and meanes, after some encounters with his enemie, hee is taken and committed prisoner to the Louvre in Paris: His wife the Countesse of Monfort, sister to Louys Earle of Flanders (a Lady who seemed to have more of the man than her brother) prosecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and encourages her people, surprises, and defends many strong peeces of Brittain: but in the end, like to be overlaid by the power of Charles de Blois, shee craves ayde of the King of England, and hath it sent, under the conduct of the Lord Walter de Manny, which relieved her for the present, but the future required more: whereof King Edward was not sparing, in regard of his owne designs, for aydes are seldome sent to forrainers but for the Senders benefit. The Lady her selfe comes over into England to treat both for supplies and alliance, tending a match betweene her sonne and a daughter of King Edward. The Earles of Salisbury, Pembroke and Suffolke, the Lords Strafford, Spencer and Bourchier, with Robert de Artois Earle of Richmond, are sent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the incounters, surprises, and recoverings of Fortes betweene the English and the French; and in this action Robert de Artois received his last wound, at the siege of Vannes, but yet was brought to die in England, it being not in his Fate, that his Country (which by his meanes had suffered so much affliction) should have his bones, though it had his blood, which he lost with little honour, though with much valour, leaving behind him but the fame of a Rebelle, after he had served the English about six yeares.

King Edward shortly after these supplies sent into Brittain, goes himselfe in person with more, and lying before Vannes (lately recovered by the French) John Duke of Normandy eldest sonne to the French King, sent to ayde Charles de Blois, with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him bataille, and being upon the point of incounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinalls, sent from Pope Clement the sixt, and concluded for three yeares, upon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of Rome, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two Kingdomes, but not to determine them without the consent of both Kings. This pause againe gives them more time to worke for greater wounds, and nothing is left unpractised that might advance the same. And though the people now seemed to put off their Armour, they left not off Armes, but had divers bickrings, both in Brittain and Gascony, for which eyther side accused other.

King

King Edward returning, makes an expedition into Scotland against King David, whom he chased into the Islands: And here the Isle of Man is conquered by William Montacute Earle of Salisbury, whom King Edward caused to be stiled King thereof, and returning backe, solemne Turneaments are held at Dunstable, where he is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the pastime, and exercise in England were lustes and Turneaments held in Smithfield, Windsor, and other places. A society of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of king Arthur, is designed, & a magnificent Chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the same at Windsor, and to this society many strangers of other countries are allured. The French King also practises the like martiall association in France.

And about this time began the order of the Garter, instituted at Windsor upon a solemne feast there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and served that time as an Embleme of a tie and combination in honour of such as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the constitution thereof: Howsoever the Garter of the Countesse of Salisbury, taken up by the King in dancing with her, was sayd to have beene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an act of Levity, seeing with what a grave and religious ceremony it is performed. Although wee see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence give beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

But besides these exercises of Armes, this great and provident King, during this truce, takes especiall care for the government of the Kingdom, and reformation of the abuses thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity have sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a State. A Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein upon the grievous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgeses against the collation of Benefices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope Clement the sixth in humble manner beseeching him to consider how inconvenient, and derogatory it was to the State of the Kingdome of England, that such reservations, provisions, and collations of Benefices as had beene formerly used, should in such sort bee continued. For that the Churches of England had in times past beene endowed, by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might bee instructed by such as were of their owne language: and how by the usurpation of some of his Predecessors, strangers, and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, whereby the mony and profits were transported, the Cures unfurnished, Almes and Hospitality unused, the edifices ruined, the charity and devotion of the people diminished, and many other grievous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occasioned: which they could not suffer any longer, and therefore besought his Holinesse wholly to revoke such reservations, provisions and collations, that meete and native persons might exercise those cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to employ their diligence, that remedy and redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these Letters was in full Parliament at Westminster the 28. of May 1343. with which were likewise sent the Kings letters to the same effect by Sir John Shordich, a grave person and of great understanding in the Law; whose message made him so unwelcome to that Court, as he departed without leave, or answer, w^{ch} though the Pope afterwards sent: yet the king proceeded to the prohibition of all such provisions & collations within his Realme, on paine of imprisonment, or death to whom soever should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings prerogative. And to this effect

X 3

were

Reg. 17.
An. 1343
The institution
of the Order
of the Garter.

The Nobility
write to the
Pope concern-
ing his colla-
tion of Be-
nefices in Eng-
land.

Sir John Shor-
dich sent with
these Letters.

The Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury recon-
ciled.

Prince Ed-
ward created
Prince of
Wales.

Reg. 18.
An. 1344
A Parliament.

Generall mu-
sters and ap-
pointing of
Armour.

were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing prejudiciall to this ordinance.

Here is the Archbishop *Strasford* with much adoe upon his submission reconciled to the Kings favour. And much debating there is in this Parliament concerning Wools and the assailement of certaine prices upon the same, more or lesse, according to the severall parts of the Realme: and concerning customes to be imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe upon the transportation of every sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this businesse.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners are appointed to be sent to the Pope to treat of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *John* Bishop of *Excester*, *Henry de Lancaster* Earle of *Derby*, *Hugh le Despicer* Lord of *Glamorgan*, cosins to the King, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, with others.

The next yeare after, another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much alteration, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had bene for the Warres in *France*, is decayed, and Nobles of finer coynd, to the great liking of the Subjects. And for their better commodity the exchange of monyes at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after generall Musters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and Certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into every Countrey to inquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horse-backe; of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and so ratably above. The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast unto him: and at *Sluce*, *Jaques van Arteville* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire unto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle should doe homage to the King of *England*, or else to be disinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* received for their Lord: for which King *Edward* promises to erect their Countie to a Dukedome. *Arteville* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the rest of the Commissioners require leave to acquaint therewith the Townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to have the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteville* notwithstanding undertakes to induce them unto it, and returnes to *Gaunt*, guarded with five hundred *Welsh*, which he desired to have, for that on *Gerrard Denys* Provost of the *Weavers* opposed him, and sought his destruction. The people whom he had so often led to mutiny against others, now upon his returne rose against himselfe, and a Cöbler with an Axe strake out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his businesse in those parts. Yet the Townes sent to excuse themselves of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gauntsoys*, and in all things vowed their faithfull service unto him: onely to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renewed betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designs.

But now the Warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Derby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Aginois*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *Saint Basile*,

Basile, with many other Cities and Castles. The French King sends his eldest sonne *John* Duke of *Normandie* to incounter him; who recovers the Cities of *Angolesme*, and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and he the same on him, for entertayning King *David*, and setting the Scots upon attempts of invasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to hold their hands any longer from the fatall worke of destruction.

It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and active Kings reigne, wherein he had prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet crossed the Seas for *France*, and over he passes into *Normandy* in *July*, leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy* and *Nevile*, taking the young Prince with him about the age of fifteen yeares, to learne him the way of men, and what travell greatnesse was borne to indure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and tenthousand Archers, besides *Welsh* and *Irish*, which followed on foote; he had of Barles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barons, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *John*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkely*, and *Willoughbie*, with divers other both Knights and gallant Captaines. He had of late entertained *Godfrey de Harecourt*, who had beene a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*; upon some discontent, or doubt of some discoveries of favouring the English party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Percy*, *Geffrey de Malestroit*, men of especiall marke, whom he had there employed. And now in steed of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *John de Beaumont*, who had long served him, was his wives Vncle, and acquainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercenaries, who sell their faith for better entertainment. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meane time did him and his Country much mischief. For upon King *Edward*'s landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Constantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Constable. Hee divides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea coast; the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals, and himselfe in the midst with his maine Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* employed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the Shippes hee found on the Sea coast. The three Armies by land lodged every night in one field. And first hee sackes the City of *Caranton*, slew all he found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the City, saying hee sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and others (whose heads he found set upon the principall gate) unjustly massacred by *Phillip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke *Saint Lo*, a rich towne of merchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickring, became Master of *Caen*, and put all that Country into so great terror, as *Falaise*, *Lysieux*, *Honfleur*, strong walled Townes, rendered themselves unto him. This don he spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Phillip* to the combate, giving out that hee would wrastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall City of *Paris*.

Phillip this while held not his armes in his bosome, but had ramassed one of the fairest Armies, saith the French History, that ever was seene in *France*, composed

Reg. 20.
An. 1346

The King
goes with a
mighty Army
into *Norman-
dy*.

John de Beaumont when
King *Edward*
had made him
Earle of *Cam-
bridge*, takes
the French
Kings part.

The manner
of King *Ed.*
proceeding
with his
Army.

The French K.
prepares to
oppose K. *Ed.*

composed of *French, Lorraines, Alemaines, Genouois*, which hee led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was sayd to have made a stand and attended him; but upon report of his comming on, retyres: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the event shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Phillip* followes and overtakes him at a Village called *Arnes*, a name remarkeable (signifying the *Sand*) to shew on what unstable earth all the trust of humane forces, and the designs of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Phillip*, having the advantage to be at home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the River of *Sone* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage was to bee disputed by the sword. For *Phillip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foote. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the River, crying out: *They who love me will follow me*. At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, striving who should bee foremost, and so presently the shoare gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with this unexpected, and bolde adventure, astonishes his people by his fearefull countenance. So that the *English* encountering the *French* all in disorder, fell upon them and put them to flight. But the retraite was neere to *Abbe-Ville* and *Saint Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but served as a preface for a greater mischief to *France*. These disrouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-Ville*. Where King *Phillip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it, and presently to provoke King *Edward* to the combate. The advise of his Councell was otherwise; to suffer his troupes to repose some few dayes, and recover their spirits; and King *Edward* to coole and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-Ville* one day, while the bridge to passe over his Army, was repaying. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field hee marches, elevated with an assured hope of a triumphant victory.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Crecy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the trees of the Forrest about it; but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Park to be paled under the wood side behide his hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirty thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard he gave to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfray de Harcourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Boncheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, *Sir John Chandos*, *Sir Bartholomew Burwash*, *Sir Robert Nevile* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them *Welch men*. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Basset*, *Saint Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himselfe, having seven hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battayles thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour.

The French Kings Army was greater both in lustre and advantage, composed of above sixty thousand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanson* the kings brother, *John de Luxemburg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorraines*, the Earle

King Ed. goes over the river of Sone, defeats the French.

The French K. resolves to encounter K. Edward.

His impatience and his hope.

The ordering of King Edwards Army.

Earle of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*, the *Dolphin de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand; and on the Eve of the battaile, *Armand* Earle of *Savoy* arrived with a thousand men at Armes more, which made the French King swell with assurance of the maisterie, so that hee longed to be at the encounter. The Vauntgard he commits to his brother *Conte d'Alanson*, the Reere to the Earle of *Savoy*, the maine battaile hee leades himselfe; his heate would scarce permit time for a little counsell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouese* (which were about fifteene thousand crosse-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cavallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After their repast the Vauntgard set on, the Conte d'Alanson, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genouese* were in the first ranke, and in fury caused them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Armie, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the leader than the enemy; besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissolved their strings and made their Bowes unusefull, and at the breaking up, of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the French (dazling their sight) and on the backs of the English, as if all made for them.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a winde-mill, beholding as from a Sentinel, with a settled spirit, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering both this accident, & the hurlement made by the change of place, slackt not to take advantage thereof, and instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to reaccommodate themselves; inso much as the discouraged *Genouese* recoyle, which the Conte d'Alanson perceiving, and comming on with the horse, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let us make way upon the bellies of these Genouese who doe but hinder us*: and instantly prickes on with a full career through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorraine*, *Savoy*, and the *Dolphin de Viennois*, and never takes breath till hee came up to the English battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better settled: their horses flanked with troupes of Archers, whose strings having not felt the raine, rained such a shower of Steele upon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The French King seeing his brother thus endangered, makes up to disengage him, whereupon the fight grew hot and doubtfull, inso much as the Commanders about the Prince, sends to King *Edward* to come up with his power to ayde them: the King demands the messenges, whether his sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but he was like to be over layd. Well then, sayd the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, that so long as my sonne is alive, they send no more to me what ever happen, for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the sword, and recovered the advantage, by reason the French King (having his horse slaine under him, and in danger to be trodden to death, had he not beene recovered by the Lord *John Beaumont*, his new Pensioner) was to the great discouragement of his people withdrawne out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was soone after theirs, and the greatest victory they ever had yet against the French: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one prisoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the sword could overtake, slaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, saved themselves by retyring to places neere adjoining. The French King himselfe with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*.

The ordering of the French Kings Army at the battaile of Crecy.

King Edward discovers the disorders of the French.

King Edward obtains the victory in this great battaile of Crecy.

The French King flies.

His

The number
of the slaine.

His voyce being knowne, the gates are opened, and in is he received with the teares and lamentations of his people, whom yet he seekes to comfort all he could. The number of the slaine on the place are certified to be 36. thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d'Alanson*, *John Duke of Bourbon*, *Ralph Earle of Lorraine*, *Louys Earle of Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphin de Viennois*, *Son to Imbert* (who after gave *Dauphine* to the Crowne of *France*) the *Barles of Sancerre*, *Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other Barles, Barons, and gentlemento the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew day*, being the 26. of *August*, 1346.

All the Markes of an intire overthrow rested with *King Edward*: the field of the Battaille, the bodies of the slaine, and their spoiles. The occasion of this great defeat (according to humane conjecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their king and his brother, and sife, temeritie and presumption have ever beene the ruine of great Actions, especially in warre.

King Edward managed this victory with as great moderation as he wonne it: and first, having imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour shewed that day, he renders thanks to God after, as he had invoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battaille, and early in the morning, being Sunday, hee sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troupes of such as were comming from *Abbeville*, *Saint Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Archbishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and flew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaille, or comming on, (having lost their way by reason of a thicke mist which hapned that morning) were slaine many more than in the field the day before, which shewethus the wonderfull losse this afflicted Country susteined at one fatall blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to *King Edward* that yeare, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home against the King of *Scots*, who being set on by the *French* to divert the warre there, entred upon this Kingdome with 60. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himsele of successe, in regard (as hee supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfriville*, Earle of *Angus*, *Henry Percie*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Archbishop of *Torke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they utterly defeated this great Armie, tooke *David* their King prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Meneth*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *scots*. This victory fell likewise upon a Saterdag, and six weekes after that of *Cressy*. And as if all concurred to make this yeare tryumphant: The aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfort* in *Brittaine*, lead by *Thomas Dugworth*, overthrew and tooke prisoner, *Charles de Bloys*, pretender to that Dutchie, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyach*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: there were slaine in the encounter the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken) *Vicomte Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direval*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the Sword of *England*.

Now

King David
overthrowne
and taken pri-
soner.

Charles de
Bloys taken
prisoner.

Now *King Edward*, without meddling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and detes downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest; wherein *John de Rienne*, Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *d'Andreghen*, a great man in his time, commanded. All that Winter *King Edward* having sheltered his people in another Towne, furnished with all provisions, lay without any molestation of the *French* King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne Starve. Misfortune is ever held a great fault, both in mighty men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are perverse. The people of *France* were in extreme povertie, yet notwithstanding the necessity of the Kings affayres, much constrained fresh supplies. The ill managing the publique treasure, the falshood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of Moneyes, the diminishing of traffike, augmentation of imposts, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmur, and put the people in despair, seeing no end of the troubles where, in their King was dayly more and more engaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the *Financiers*, Receivers and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treasure committed to the disposing of the Clergy and the Nobles, to take away suspicion in the people of ill dealing. Foure Bishops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are chosen for that businesse, *Pierre des Essars*, Treasurer of *France*, is committed to prison, condemned in a great fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants restore at once, what they were long in gathering; the *Bankiers*, *Lombards*, & other usurers, are put to the presse for their unlawfull exactions: the Interest is proved to exceed the Principall, which is confiscated to the King, and the Interest given to the Debtors. Counties, wherewith indigent Kings in expensive times use to serve their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I have the rather noted, though it lye with our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise layd hand upon what they could fasten, as well as ours, have done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Usurer is new to us, but yet like to that practised heretofore upon the Jewes, and might serve a turne with as much content to the people, and as faire a shew of a just correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready service of his Nobles and ablest Subjects, the *French* King, in the Spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Calais*, but findes no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Maister of the Haven, and possesse all other wayes whatsoever were passable, and had the *Flemings* his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischief on the confines of *France*. To oppose them, is *John Duke of Normandy*, the Prince, sent for out of *Guien*, who being no sooner removed from thence, but *Henry of Lancaster*, Earle of *Derby* became master of the field (having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foote, *English* and *Gascoignes*) takes in most of the Townes of *Zaintonge*, and *Poitou*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poitiers*, and so returnes to *Burdene* with more pillage than his people could well beare. Thus, the *French* suffer every where. The King, not being able to approach to grapple with the King of *England*, sends to sollicite him to appoint some place of battaille, and hee would incounter him. *King Edward* returnes answer: If hee would make his owne way to come thither unto him, there he should finde him: for, from thence he would not part, having there layne so long to his great labour and charge, and being

King Edward
besieged
Calais.

The State of
France.

Conditions
for the ren-
dering of
Calais.

The Queene
obtains par-
don for the
burgesses of
Calais.

King Edwards
Clemency.

The conquest
of the Towne
of Calais.

King Edward
returns into
England.

King Edward
refuseth the
Election of
king of the
Romans.

being now sincere the point of gaining the place. The two Cardinals sent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commissioners on eyther side meet to treat, but nothing could be effected. So that the French King was forced to breake up his Armie and retire to Paris, leaving Calais, and the defendants unrelieved, to the mercy of the Besieger, which when they understood, they sent to desire Parley, had in granted, and therein received this final sentence: that six of the chiefe Burgesses should be sent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their neckes; the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will: for the residue he was content to take to mercy. This sentence intimated to the miserable townsmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who should be chosen for this sacrifice, one amongst the rest stands up, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow Citizens, for mine owne part I thus have so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Country (and have bene every day so die) am now most willing to sacrifice the same for my last obligation therunto, and will cheerefully carry my head to the victory of the King of England, not desiring to survive the perdition of my miserable Country.* Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed people, as now they strive who should be one of the six, and cryed, *Let us go, let us go unto death, it is the last day we ought to render to our King and soyle.* Six are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselves on their knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew mercy unto them. The King commaunders them instantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Councell) be diverted; in regard as he sayd of his oath to the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them given unto her, which done shee caused them to be clothed, gave them their dinner, and six nobles a man, appoynting them to be safely conveyed out of the Army, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her dedde of clemency. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood than his Grand-father Edward the first, and had more of compassion, as shewed an Act in this siege. When Victuals within the Towne beganne to faile, and all unusefull persons, as old men, women, and children put out of the gates, he forced them not backe againe which hee might have done, the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, gave them to eat, and two pence a peece to every one.

And thus was that strong Towne of Calais the third of August, 1347. gotten, after almost an yeares siege, with infinite cost and labour: All the Inhabitants are turned out, and sent away to seeke new dwellings; a Colony of the English planted therein, and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of England 10. yeares after. And now this tryumphant King having made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe keeping of his hard gotten prize, returns with his Queene, the Prince and his people into England, to make Holy-day, and enjoy the benefite of their booties brought home out of France, which are sayd to bee so great as every house had some part, and the Wives of England, now flourish with the stuffe and ornaments of those of France, who in the meane time lament their losse, and heere is nothing but Feasts and Tryumphes throughout the Kingdom. And to adde to this glory, the Princes Electors send to signifie, that they had chosen king Edward, king of the Romans, which great dignity, notwithstanding he refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumberlome to deale withall.

But

But before that yeare ended, this great jollity here in England turned to the saddest mourning that could bee possible. The invisible Sword of Heaven makes such a ravage upon mankind, as had not bene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence riseth in the East and South parts of the World, that disspreads it selfe over all Christendome. And in England they write that it took away more than the halfe of men. As if the Divine providence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields. And take to it selfe the vengeance of Blood shed in this terrible manner. Church yards could not heere suffice to bury the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in London, betwene the first of January and the first of July 37374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those egar Princes from prosecuting their quarrell, nor yet so unfurnish their fields, but that they found still fresh hands for blood shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yett gave some pause, till the fervour of the contagion allwaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murtaine of Cattle, and sterility of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heavens, and wants of culture.

The first Action after this was the Kings going over to Calais, upon an information of a practise to surprize the Towne, contrived by the French, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charmy*, Governour of *Saint Omers*, had deale with *Americo de Pavia*, whom King Edward had left Captaine of the Castle of Calais, offering him 20. thousand Crownes to be received into the Castle. *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the businesse. In which night (by advertisement from *Americo*) King Edward arrives with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monsieur Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from *Saint Omers* with his Forces, and sent 200. armed men before with the Crownes to *Americo*, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crownes received and themselves layd in hold. Which done the Gates of the Towne are opened and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monsieur de Charmy*, comming on with his Forces, who perceiving himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defence hee could, & the King of England to a hard bickring, who for that hee would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince, under the countails of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by *Monsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end tooke *Riboumont* Prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new yeare) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave *Riboumont* in honour of his valour (wherein hee honoured his owne) a rich Chapter of Pearle, which himselfe wore on his head (for a New-yeares gift) forgave him his ransom, and set him at liberty. The rest pay dearly for what they got not, and were well warned how to Trafficke in that kinde. Yet the English not long after in the like practise had better success, and got the Castle of *Guisnes* (a peece of great importance neere Calais) for a summe of money given to one *Beauconroy* a Frenchman. Of which Castle, when the French King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce: King Edward returns answer *That for things bought and sold betwene their people, therein was no exception* and so held it.

Shortly after, the French King not borne to live to see any better Fortune, dyes,

The first great
Pestilence.

Anno
Reg. 23
King Edward
goes over to
Calais.
The French
circumvented
in their pra-
ctise.

Y

1305.

Anno

Reg. 24

The French King dyes.

King Edward
in action at
Sea against
the Spaniards.Alterations of
monies.

A Parliament.

Anno

Reg. 27

The Staple
established in
England.

Walsingham.

dyes, leaving that distressed Kingdom to his sonne *John*; who found farre worse. For these foretold wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, & after in the Reignes of *Charles 6.* and *7.* till the sword of *England* was turned home, upon it selfe, to let out the blood of revenge with as Tragically mischiefs, on the successors of these actors, who now thus wrought others ruines abroad.

King *Edward*, the next year after, is againe in person with a Fleet on the Sea, to encounter certaine Spanish Shippes, passing from *Flanders* loaden with Cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on eyther side, he took with all their substance: For that the Spaniards the year before, entered the River *Garonne*, and took away certaine English shippes, loaden with Wines, and slew all the English. His forces in *Guyen* were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betwene the French and them: notwithstanding the Truce which was renewed. The Wars in *Brittaine* likewise continue, and are hotly maintained betwene the two Ladies, the widdow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Blois* (whose husband remains prisoner in *England*) eager defenders of others pretended right.

Divers overtures of peace had beene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could be concluded (the winner and the loser seldome agreeing upon conditions in regard the one will have more than the other is willing to yield unto) and so temporary Truces (which were but slenderly observed) are onely taken to winne time. These actions not onely consumed our men, but the treasure of the Kingdom. The War, though invasive, could not maintaine it selfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of silver called sterlings, but now groates of four pence, & halfe groates of two pence, equivalent to the sterling mony, are coyned, which inbaned the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of Coyne. Which made servants and labourers to raise their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was given before the late Mortality. This caused much murmuring amongst them, imputing the cause thereof, to *William Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the author of the abatement of the Coyne.

The King conceyving displeasure against the *Flemings*, for being disappointed of the Match betwene a Daughter of his, and their young Earle *Louys* (who was escaped into *France*, and bestowen on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart or Staple of Woolls from their Townes, greatly enriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Richester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwicke*, *Torke*, *New-castle*, *Excester*, *Carmerden*, *Bristol*, and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to advance his owne townes than strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdom. And here are provident Ordinances enacted, for the governing and ordering this Staple.

An Act is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindring the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels, should bee removed. An Act most commodious to the Kingdom, but it took little effect, saith my Author, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their owne, than

than the publike benefite: A mischiefe fatal to all good Ordinances, and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behoovefull an act was ordained. For, this easie convaying and passing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinite benefit to this State: And seeing God hath made us Rivers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if wee marre them, or make them not usefull in that kind, as other nations doe with farre lesser streames.

There is mentioned also of an Act to be made, at the instance of the *Londners*, that no common Whore should weare any hood; except rayed, or striped with divers colours, or Furses, but garments reversed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke upon foulness, to make it appeare the more odious.

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Ralph* Lord *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and here *Charles de Blois*, a long prisoner in *England*, agreed for his Ransome, which was 40. thousand *Florens*, and was permitted to returne into *Brittaine* to provide the same. Great mediation is made by the Pope to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meete on both sides, to treat and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; That the King of *England* should enjoy all the Lands of his Datchy of *Aquitaine*, without holding the same, by resort or homage of the Crowne of *France*: and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his clayme and title to that Kingdom. And this was in a manner then fully agreed on; yet in the end broken off by the French (Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the body of that Crowne) to their farther confusion and mischiefe, having beene better to have spared a formall Ceremony appertaining to a part, than to have had the whole so miserable rent and torne in pieces as it was. And yet in the end they were faine to make their agreement upon the same very Article, at the Treaty of *Brittain*.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew so displeased, as he would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were most instantly urg'd by two Cardinals, sent from *Avignon* by Pope *Clement* the 6. (who being a French man borne, laboured much for the peace of his Country) and preparation is made for fresh waives. The Prince of *Wales* now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gascoigne* with 1000. men at Armes; 2000. archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in June following, sets forth with 300. Sayles, attended with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *James Audley*, Sir *Robert Knolles*, Sir *Franko de Hull*, with many others.

About *Michelmas* following, the K. himselfe passes over to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his sons, *Lionel* of *Antwarpe*, now Earle of *Ulster*, (by the right of his wife, *Elizabeth* daughter & heire to *William Brugh*) And *John* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmont*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a 1000. men at Armes. So that his Army consisted of three thousand men of Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe, besides Archers on foote. The City of *London* sent 300. men at Armes, & 500. Archers all in one Livery, at their owne charge. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the French King would not be drawn to any encounter: both in regard of the pptyency of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people; but hee so disturnishes the Country (where the English were to passe) of all provisions to

sustaine

Y 2

Stow.

The Earle of
Derby created
Duke of Lan-
caster.Treatie of
Peace.Anno
Reg. 27King Edward
passes with an
Army into
France.Returnes
without doing
any thing.

sustaine them, as the King of England was forced to returne.

The distemperatures of France that this time diseased it, grew from the violent humors of Charles King of Navarre, who had married Iane the French Kings daughter, a Prince of a stirring spirit, subtilt, haughty, and presuming upon his great Estate, and high blood, being the soane of Louys Conte d'Eureux and Iane daughter to King Louys Hutin, which Iane was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of France by Phillip de Long her Vncle, in regard of the Salique Law: and by him preferred to bee Queene of Navarre, in whose right this Charles her sonne, bare both the title and state of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that he had not also the Counties of Champagne and Bry, which appertained to his mother by the same right as did the Kingdome of Navarre, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) he falls upon the Constable of France, as chiefe of his Councell, & one of whom he was jealous, in regard of the Kings particular favour unto him, and in the end caused him to be murdered in his bed at L'Aigle in Normandy, rushing himselfe up into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother Phillip of Navarre, two of the Harecourts, and divers other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, he retyres to his owne City of Eureux, and justifies the act to be lawfull.

The French King, though extremely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporise, and promise the King of Navarre, if hee would come and crave pardon, hee should have it. Whereupon hee appears at Paris before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason (notwithstanding the Kings promise) and committed prisoner. Three Queenes are earnest sutors for him, his mother (the old Queene of Navarre) his sister (the widow of the late King Phillip de Valois) and his owne wife daughter to the French King. His release is obtained, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had bene better not given, unless it had bin home) offers his service to the King of England (who knew well how to make use of such a powerfull member) & withall surprises certen pceces in Normandy, practising all he could to withdraw the peoples affections, and aydes from their Kings, when hee had most neede of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding the French King is faine to endure and dissemble, untill hee might againe take him upon some advantage: to use force, hee saw was dangerous, both in regard of his party, and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon hee seizes Charles his eldest sonne being lately invested in the Duchy of Normandy, is visited by all the great men in the Country, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of Navarre, and is royally feasted at Rouen. Whereof the French King having notice, sets out of Paris suddenly, takes him at dinner with his soone, and without farther procelle causes foure of the principall which massacred the Constable, to bee presently executed: of which, two were the Harecourts brethren and withall sends away Navarre under sure guard to Arras, and his chiefeest servants to divers prisons.

This sudden execution, though it gave a present amazement, yet it wakened the partizans of Navarre, and especially Phillip his brother, who with Geoffrey Harecourt (Vncle to the two brethren) pass over into England, exclaiming against this violent murder, invoking King Edward, in a case of so notorious Injustice, to ayde them: offering their hearts, their goods, their townes and havens, to let him into Normandy. The occasion is entertained, the Duke of Lancaster is sent over with foure thousand men

The King of Navarre, disturbed the French King.

The French King commits the king of Navarre prisoner.

The Duke of Lancaster sent into Normandy to ayde the king of Navarres brother and others.

men at Armes, and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

King Edward to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sacke of wooll, for six yeares next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought, (say our histories) the King might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day. Such vent of woollens were in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in winter (to shew that he was for all weathers) he goes with an Army to recover Barwicke, which had bene surprised by the Scots, whilst he was last at Calais; and here hath he not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of Scotland resigned unto him, by Edward Baliol, who held himselfe King thereof by the best title, but not best regarded: for King Alexander (though now prisoner in England) had the most powerfull party there: and so both were Kings to their severall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And every where dwelt affliction but in England, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recoverings in all parts.

The Prince enters Guen, passes over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, Burges, without any encounter in the field; sacks, spoyles, destroyes where hee goes, and laden with booty returns to Burdeaux.

The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in Normandy, recovers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this fresh Invador, the Prince of Wales, who was againe abroad, and come up into Tourayne; against whom hee brings his whole Armie, causing all the Townes and passages upon the River Loire to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince, whose forces were not to encounter those so mighty, was advised to withdraw againe thorow Tourayne and Poictiers, towards Burdeaux. The French King to prevent his course, follows, and within two Leagues of Poictiers hath him at a great advantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The French King supposing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his discretion.

The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour; wherein he sayd: *Hee stood accountable to his Father, and to his Country.* So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly urged) could prevaile nothing upon the French Kings obstinacy: who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was six to one) would instantly (as loath to lose time to lose himselfe) set upon the Prince: who reduced to this streight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, & providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to imposter and intangle the French horse, which hee saw were to come furiously upon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cavallary of his enemies upon their first assault, wrapt and incumbered amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

For the French King to give the honour of the day to his Cavallarie (whereof hee had caused a choice to bee elected out of every company, to the discontent of the rest) imployed them onely without his Infantry: So that they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be utterly defeated.

1335.
Anno

Reg. 29
Fifty shillings granted by Parliament of every sacke of wooll for six yeares.

Edward Baliol resignes the kingdome to King Edward, receiving to himselfe a pension.

1336
Anno

Reg. 30
The French King hath the Prince of Wales at an advantage.

The battaile of Poictiers, fought the 19 of September, 1336.

The French King taken prisoner.

The number of prisoners taken.

The slain in the battaile.

A memorable act of Iamys Lord Audley.

The errors committed in the battaile of *Cressie*, could not waine the King to avoyde the like. For had he had the patience to have tymed it out a while, the Prince could not have possibly subsisted, being thus invironed, and shut up from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and having no safety but what was to bee wrought by the Sword (which desperation ever makes the sharper,) Hee, and his shewd that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glory that ever any Martiall action did: that was achieved by the *English* with so few hands.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne *Phillip* (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers forspoke him, had after ward the Title of *Hardy*, and became Duke of *Burgoyne*;) *Jacquas de Borbon*, Conte de *Ponthieu*, the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John d'Artoys*, Conte d'*Eu*, *Charles d'Artoys*, his brother Conte de *Longueville*, *Charles* Conte de *Tancarville*, the *Counts* of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of marke, besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; in so much as the Conquerours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe. The French, who can give best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battaile a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two *Bannereffs*: the most eminent, *Peter de Barbin*, the Duke d'*Athens* Constable of *France*, *Jan de Clermont* Marshall, *Geffrey de Wharmy* High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battaile three of the French Kings sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the first so intitled) *Louys* after Duke of *Armoys*, *John* Duke of *Berry*, all great actors in the time following.

This blow might seeme to have bin enough to have utterly overthrowne that Kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in severall parts, and contained so wide an extent of state, as all this blood-letting could not dissolve it, or make it faint to give over. And sure these powerfull Kingdomes, howsoever they may be diseased, and suffer, cyther through the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can never (unlesse by a generall dissolution) be so lowe brought, but they will recover againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which never fayle all together.

The Prince of *Wales* in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword, the other by his Curtisie: first he visits the captive King, with all reverence and regard of Majesty, comforts him by examples of war, and assures him of all faire entertainment according to his dignity. The especiall great men who were actors in this worke must not passe unremembered, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Sniffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkeley*, *Rassett*: Of *Gascognes*, *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Iames Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who having vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred markes, Fee-simple in *England*, hee presently gave it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him endured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, hee answered how these men had deserved the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gave him five hundred markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deservings went not unrewarded.

All

1337.
Anno
Reg. 31

All things providently accommodated after the battaile, the Prince with his prisoners first retires to *Burdeaux*, and then passes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of triumph. The French King, lodged at the *Savoy*, then a goodly palloge of *Henry* Duke of *Burgh*, many prisoners upon reasonable ransomes, and many upon the French King words (undertaking for them) are delivered and sent home honorably. *Duvid* King of *Scots*, who had remained prisoner eleven yeares in *England*, is shortly after by the earnest solicitation of *Isabel* his wife, sister to King *Edward*, set likewise at liberty for the ransom of a hundred thousand markes, to be paid in tenne yeares. The security now had of *France*, gave way to this Princes liberty.

Above foure yeares the French King remained prisoner in *England*, in which time were many overtures, and great offers made for his delivery, but nothing effected. *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that Kingdome (during the captivity of his father) a Prince of great discretions, wrought all means possible to bring that factious people to yeeld their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little prevailed. The Parliament there called to consult thereof, rather augments the misery of the State, than provides remedy. Wherein after the Dauphin had gravely delivered the desolation and danger they were in, being thus deprived of their Head, and the necessity of recovering and relieving the same, by their utmost means. There was a choyce required of fifty (to avoyd confusion) to be made out of all the Provinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receive. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their resolution, which was much otherwise than hee expected. For in stead of ayde and subvention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should be uttered unto him by the States. The young Prince answers: That it were much prejudiciall to the degree he held in the Kingdome, to take Law of his Fathers Subjects: and therefore commanded them (by their Allegiance) openly to reveale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop thereupon, declares the evill managing of the Publike revenues, demands redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeeld their Accounts. That all who had managed the Treasury, should be disposed from their Office: That both the monyes, and all the affaires of the State, should from thenceforth be directed by foure Bishops, and twelve Burgeses, whereof the City of *Paris* should be chiefe: and that without this Councell the Dauphin should doe nothing: And in conclusion, they instantly require; That the King of *Navarre* might be set at liberty. On which conditions, they would yeeld any reasonable subvention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the Dauphin requires time to answer, which he so put off from day to day, (in hope thereby to separate and dis-unite their Councels) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake up without doing any thing.

But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demand to have the King of *Navarre* delivered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Pinguay*, the Governour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as hee was delivered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied as shewed both of what spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his time of revenge. Heere is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike manner

The King of Navarre set at liberty.

manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs he had received; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*; thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the businesse of redeeming the captive King quite out of their mindes for that time; and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an act of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Navarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the perverseness of the *Parisians*, goes to sollicite other Cities, and Provinces: travelling from place to place for ayde and succour, leaving his brother *Phillip*, Duke of *Orleans*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The Province of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Histories, for being the first that made the largest offer of ayde towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their Governour, the *Comte d'Arminiack*, not onely to employ their Revenue, but their mooveables, and even to sell their wives Jewells to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publike sorrow, they ordaine, that no costly Apparell, Feasting, Playes, or other jollities should be used within their Province, during the time of their Kings captivity. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could moove the *Parisians* to yeede any thing. The King of *Navarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanity, and put them into such flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the City, the Provost of Merchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe up into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin* being amazed, the Provost bids him bee content, it was resolved it must be so. And presently upon Signall given, *Ian de Couflans*, and *Robert de Cleremont*, Marshall of *France*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphin* cries out; *What meane you? Will you set upon the Blood of France? Sir* (sayd the Provost) *Feare you not, it is not you wee seeke, it is your disloyall servants, who have evill counsailed you.* And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with gold, and sets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Livery of the City) upon the *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of Dictatorship, causing the bodies of these two noble men to be trayled along the streets to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murder, to gafe on.

This done, the Provost writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to joyne with theirs (the principall of the Kingdome) and take their Livery, as the *Dauphin* had done, for the reformation of the State. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselves, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Premier President, the Provost, with some of the Univerfity, were chiefe, assuming a Sovereigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that we see in what a miserable confusion that Kingdome stood, being without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all authority, and dissolve the government into parts: shewing us that it was no new project amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late praifed to doe, in their leagues during their civill combustions.

The *Dauphin* thus disgraced, with much adoe, gets out of this tumultuous City, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Verus* assembles the States of the Country, whom he found loyall, and ready to yeeld him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdain) to joyne with the

City

City of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that hee was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Navarre*, who sought his destruction, still rayfed new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him.

Now besides these confusions, greater mischiefes arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Payfants that had beene eaten out by the souldiours, and troden under foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselves in the Country of *Beauvoysis*, and turne head upon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, sacking, burning their houses, killing their wives and children in most outrageous manner. This was not all, troupes of Souldiers which had no worke or meanes to live, joyne together in mighty Companies, over-runne and ravage other parts of the Kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* under the conduct of Sir *Robert Knolles*, breake out upon the confining Countries, and retorne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth. All which miserable calamities (enough to have utterly dissolved a State) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could be effected for his ranfome, which King *Edward* thinks long till he have in his Treasury: and urges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *John* should doe homage, and hold the Kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great disdain refuses, as being not in his power to alien what was unalienable, vowing that no misery of his should constraine him to doe any thing prejudiciall to his successors, to whom he would leave the State as hee received it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions than the *French* were willing to yeeld unto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeares expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolves to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the Kingdome of *France*. And over he passes to *Calais*, with a Flecte of eleaven hundred sayle. His Army he devides into three battailes, one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leades himselfe. And first hee marches to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes: Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Nevers* are rendered unto him. The Dutchy of *Burgogne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, upon paying two hundred thousand Florins of golde. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, up King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the *Dauphin* (who had now the title of Regent, having lately overcome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common danger flocked together to defend their Countrey) and would not (by the example of his father and Grandfather) bee drawne out to hazard upon any attempt, but stood onely upon his defences; which the King of *England* seeing, after many provocations, rayfed his siege, and returns into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army. In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty store of victuals, provides that the Souldiers should have enough without pressing the inhabitants, and with extreame diligence so fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreshed power, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great City which was like to have endangered the whole Kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preserve it.

Both hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpose to besiege that Citie; but being by an horrible tempest of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell upon his Army, so terrified, as hee vowed to make peace with

the

France spoyled by the souldiers and others on all sides.

King *Edward* goes to take possession of the kingdome of *France*.

Anno
Reg. 34

The treaty of
Accord con-
cluded at
Britigny.

Vid. Append.

King John
delivered.

1361.
Anno
Reg. 35

The second
great pesti-
lence.

the French King, upon any reasonable conditions, as hee shortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, upon these Articles. That the Country of *Poitou*, the *Fiefes* of *Thovars*, and *Beleville*, the Country of *Gascogne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rovergne*, *Angoulmois* in sovereignty, with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, *Monstrucel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merck*, *Sangote*, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales & Onis* should be to the king of England: who besides was to have three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof fixe hundred thousand presently in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after insuing, upon reasonable payment.

And for this, the King of England, and his Sonne the Prince of Wales, as well for them, as their Successors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of France, the Dutchy of Normandy, the countries of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, the Sovereignty and Homage of the Dutchy of *Brittaine*, and the Earldome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Calais*, at the charge of the King of England, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should be given into his hand Hostages: *Louys* Duke of *Anjou*, *John* Duke of *Berry* (King *Johns* sonnes) *Phillip* Duke of *Orleance* his brother, *John* Duke of *Burgogne*, the Counts of *Blois*, *Alençon*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *de Brenne*, *des Forrefts*, the Lords *Vaudemont*, *Canscy*, *Piennex*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Momerancy*, *de Garancieis*, *La Roche guion*, *Estou-seville*, *Le Dauphin d' Andrigil*, *de Craon*, sufficient cautions for the sayd Summes, and conditions. The Scots not to be ayded by the French King, nor the *Flemings* by the English. *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and his brother *Phillip* are comprehended likewise in these Articles, &c.

This treatie of good accord and finall Peace, signified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and sworne unto by the Nobility of both Kingdomes. The Hostages are delivered unto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into England, leaving the Earle of *Warwicke* in France, to have a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *John* is honourably conducted to *Calais*, attending the promised Summe, the first gage of his libertie. The City of *Paris* yeelds one thousand Royals; by whose example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *John* delivered, after having remained Prisoner in England neere about five yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonstrations of brotherly Love.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calls a Parliament, wherein the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Estates; and an Oath taken by the Nobles to observe the same for their parts. Here the King restored to the Priors *Aliens*, their Houses, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them Anno Reg. 12. for the maintenance of his French Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Patents, in as free manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a just King, being seldom seen that Princes let goe any thing, whereon they have once fastned.

Now againe, was the joy and glory that England received by their gettings, seasoned with the sowrenesse of another mortalitie, called *The second Pestilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wisdom & valour: who had bene an especiall Aitor in all these Warres; and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of England: whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *John* of *Gaunt* (by dispensation, being neere of consanguinity) whereby

whereby

Anno
Reg. 36

Vid. Stat. 31

Vid. Stat.

Clergy men
Officers to
the King.

whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of Wales marries the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are provided of Matches within the Kingdom. The King gives to the Prince of Wales, cheyly after sends him over with his wife, and Courtyo live there. His sonne *Lionell* Earle of *Visser*, is sent into *Ireland*, with a regiment of 1500 men to guard his Earldome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Glarence*, in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in November, which continued untill the feast of *Saint Brice*, King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeare of his age. Wherein for a *Tublie* he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking Exiles, &c. And upon petition of the Commons, causes *Bills* which before were in French, to be made in English, that the Subject might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth. A blessed Act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby have rendered the same also perspicuous, it had bene a worke of eternall honour; but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soever it speaks, it never speaks plaine, but is wrapt up in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of profit are) as it gives more affliction to the people than it doth remedy. Here was also an Act passed for Purveiors (as there had bene many before in his time) that nothing should be taken up but for ready mony, upon strict punishment. For retribution of which relievements the Parliament granted fixt twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of every sacke of wooll for three yeeres. Thus all were pleased, saving the removing of the Staple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was some grievance to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to inrich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of England, might herein well be borne withall. And sure this King the most renowned for valour & goodness, that ever reigned in this kingdom, not only laboured to advance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices (whereunto fortunate and opulent States are evermore subject) as may be noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 37. where for the publike Good, certaine Sumptuary Lawes, the most necessary to prevent Ryot (that dissolving sicknesse, the fever Hectique of a State) were ordained both for Apparell and Dyer; appointing every degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffs and Habits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Silver, Silkes, and rich Furies to all, except eminent persons. Whereby forraine superfluities were shut out, and home-made Commodities onely used. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he should eate, &c. whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkennesse*, those hideous evils which have since utterly disfigured and infeeblid the English Nation, were avoyded. So carefull was this frugal King for preserving the estate of his Subjects from excess.

And as provident was he for the ordering of his owne, committing his treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a certificate Anno Reg. 30. sent to Pope *Urban*, concerning Pluralities, and the estates of Church-men in England, there were found more of the Spirituallty which bare office about this King, than any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon* Langham Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellor of England, *William* Wiskham Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Privie

Seale:

Seale: *David Willer*, Parson of *Somerham*, Master of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Civilians, Masters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of *Saint Martins le Grand*, chiefe Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings treasure and Jewels: *William Askey* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellor of the Exchequer: *William Dighton* Prebendary of *Saint Martins*, Clarke of the Privy Seale: *Richard Cheffensfeld* Prebend of *Saint Stephens*, Treasurer of the King house: *Henry Snatch* Person of *Oundell*, Master of the Kings Warde-robe: *John Newham*, Parson of *Fenni-stanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels: *Iohn Roufbie*, Parson of *Hukwick*, Surveior and Comptroler of the Kings workes: *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asbie*, Treasurer to the King for the parts of *Guisnes* and the *Marches of Calais*: *John Trog* Treasurer of *Ireland*, a Priest, and beneficed there: These men, being without those Feminine Ginnes of attraction and consumption, devoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of England, The King of *France*, the King of *Scotts*, and the King of *Cyprus*: The occasions that mooved the *French* King might be divers, but it seemes the speciall were to free some Hostages that remained here, and to cleare such imputations as were had of him, for not observing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: so that in an Assembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine particular Lords, whose Homages were passed over to the King of England, protested against it; *Alledging*, how that the King could not dispose of the Sovereignie of the Kingdom, nor alien his Demaine, and therefore they would not obey it. The *French* King notwithstanding, least King *Edward* should thinke this but a collusion betweene him and his Subjects, publishes his Commandement for the observation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Besides, he had undertaken a journey for the *Holy Warres*, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might bee the occasion of his coming, and not his love to the Countesse of *Salisbury*, as is reported. But howsoever, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the Gaole, where hee had endured so much affliction, and where shortly after his coming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of England, who solemnly attended his Corps to *Dover*, whence it was conveyed to *Saint Denys*, and entombed with his Ancestors.

The debate for the Duchy of *Brittaine* is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Blois* slain in a Battaille neere *Vannes*, by *John de Monfort*, and the *English* Forces, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *John Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Caverley*. *John de Monfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King *Edward*, and by his consent doth his homage for the Duchy, to *Charles* (now King of *France*) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Blois* for a sum of money, and some estate in land.

And here we have some time of rest, which the Souldier whom the War had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in *France*, though they had no head, yet had strong bodies, and did much mischief in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were employed in the Warres of *Spain*, which fell out shortly after. A company of them passed over into *Italy*, under the conduct of Sir *John Hawk*, a great Warriour, who found such entertainment with the Princes there (where he revived Militarie discipline, that had laine long unused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remains to this day, and his statue amongst their memorable Princes

The death of King John of France.

1364.

Anno

Reg. 38

The Italians call him *Jo-hannes de Acuto*.

The businesse of Brittain accommo- dated for a time.

Princes for action and vertue, though he went but a *Taylor* out of this Kingdome, which in those dayes could have furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

And now heere have we brought this mighty King to the Fortieth yeare of his Reigne, which had it beene his last, we had left him the most glorious and tryumphant Prince in the world, to whom *Fortune* never yet shewed her backe, never was retrograde. But now these last ten yeares present us with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought upon him. This new King of *France*, *Charles* the fifth, intituled *The wise*; recovered great advantages upon him, having in the life time of his Father struggled so with affliction (a better Mistressse of wisdom than prosperity) and learned so well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now he manages the same with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preservation of that State, consisted more in counsell than force (which had beene too adventurously employed by his Father and Grand-father) hee workes his fortune by lying still, having excellent aydes and ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his Warres, *Guesclin* a *Brittaine*, whom hee made Constable of *France*, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to bee recovered.

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Duchy of *Aquitaine*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by *Peter* King of *Castile*, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recover the same: which the Prince upon great promises of remuneration, undertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better than the person. For this *Peter* sonne to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his Subjectes, oppressing and destroying his Nobles, to enrich himselfe, putting away, and after murdering his wife (which was daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and sister to the now Queene of *France*) by the instigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom hee afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother *Henry* (who though hee were a bastard by his birth was more Legitimate by his vertues than hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of *Spain* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to fflye the Kingdome. This *Peter* thus rejected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtie thousand, attended by his brother *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-invest in his Kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and those fleeing companies fore-remembered, led by *Guesclin* Constable, and *Saracins* so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Upon the borders of *Castile* it came to a Battaille, the Prince of *Wales* hath the victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken prisoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Bargos*.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, or cared not to provide, but starving him with delayes, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without mony to pay his Army, and which was worse, without health, which he never after recovered. This successe had this unfortunate action, undertaken to right an ungratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother *Henry*. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the *Saracins*, married his daughter,

Anno
Reg. 40

1367
Anno
Reg. 41
The Prince of Wales ayds the King of Castile.

The Prince obtains the victory in Spain.

and renounced the Christian faith: but it is commonly the reward of evil Princes to be made worse than they are.

The Prince of Wales returning thus out of Spaine, charged with more debt than before, and destitute of means to content his people, falls upon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies in creasle maladies) imposing a new taxation upon the Gascoines, of Fevage, or chimney money, so discontented the people, as they exclaime against the government of the English, and appeale to the King and Court of France for redresse. The King of France, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned over by the accord to hold of the Crowne of England, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of Wales at Burdeaux with summons to answer before him and his Court at Paris, to these complaints.

Now had the Lords of Arminiaque, D' Albert, Peregor, Cominges, and many others, made their protestations against the King of England, for the Crowne of France, which they say, they were by nature to obey, and not to a strange Sovereigne: that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, to dismember them from the Crowne: that the contract was made in prison, and therefore in civil, and not to be held by the right of Nations. So that they were resolved to spend their lives and estates, rather than be under the government of England. By their example the Cities of the County of Ponthieu rendered themselves to Guy Conte de Saint Poll, and Guy de Castillon.

The King of England complains of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour Charles 4. who made a journey into France to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the business. Before whom our Ambassadors first declare how this accord, having beene more for the good of France than us, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to Normandy, Touraine, and Angjou, the fairest and richest Countreies of France: But also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in sovereignty the Dutchy of Aquitaine, the county of Ponthieu, with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of England, whereby the effusion of Christian blood was stayed, France had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and upon the most reasonable conditions could be devised: Notwithstanding the French King, (who himselfe, with the whole Council of France contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to observe the same) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recovered his Hostages by fraud) seized both upon the Dutchy of Aquitaine, and the Countrey of Ponthieu, without denouncing Warre, by his Herald, &c.

The French Reply: How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to withdraw our Army out of France, which they say we did not, during all the Reigne of their King John: That the Peace was thereby made more offensive than the war, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge than would have maintained an Army. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King Edward was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of France, in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King: they say, it cost France more gold, than the redeeming of Saint Louys their K. his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Army, taken by the Soldan, in Insidell. Thus both sides defend their cause, being easie for Princes who will breake out of their Covenant to finde excuses. The French King (it seemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renew a war, & therefore with many presents courts the King of England: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded,

prepares

prepares to have out his Sword. And having borrowed great summes of the Clergy, sends over John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphry Bohun Earle of Hereford, with a mighty Army to Calais, to invade France on this side, whiles the Prince of Wales works to recover the revolted Townes on the other. But little was effected; the Duke shortly returnes. And then Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwick, with fresh supplies is sent over, who dyes in the journey. Sir Robert Knolles, a man renowned in those times for valour and counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdaining to be commanded by him whom they held their inferiour, overthrow themselves, and the Action.

Thus all went backe, and the French King grows both in State and Alliance. Margueret, sole daughter and Heire to Louys Earle of Flanders, to whom King Edward sought to match his sonne Edmond, is wonne to marry Phillip Le Hardy Duke of Burgogne, brother to the French King. And this much vexes King Edward, who the better to furnish himselfe for revenge, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein hee resumes his claime to the Crowne of France, and requires ayde of his Subjects, and hath it. The Clergy granted him, fifty thousand pounds, to be payd the same yeare; and the Laitye as much. For the levying whereof, every Parish in England was rated first to pay 23. shillings foure pence (the great helping the lesse) upon supposition there had beene Parishes enough to have made up that summe. But by certificate upon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in every Shire, they found it came short: and then rated every Parish at five pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to be in the 37. Shires, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raised. But in regard of the great povertie of Suffolke and Devon-shire, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered fifty thousand pound for the Laitye.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of Forrests, should be observed in all points: which in most Parliaments of his, is ever the first Act; as may be seene in the printed Statutes. And now John Duke of Lancaster, and Edmond Earle of Cambridge, are sent with Forces into Aquitaine, to ayde the Prince of Wales, who after hee had sacked the City of Limoges, that was revolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaveth the prosecution of the Warre to his brother: and with his wife, and yong sonne Richard borne at Burdeaux, returnes home into England, and here resignes unto his father the Dutchy of Aquitaine.

The Duke of Lancaster, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but being now a widdower (his wife dying two ybares before, in the third great Peilence, in which yeare also Phillip wife to King Edward ended her life) hee marries Constance eldest daughter to Peter King of Castile, (by whom he had the empty title of King, and was (after the death of his father-in-law) styled King of Castile and Leon. This Constance, though she were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was so happy, that the daughter she had by the Duke of Lancaster, named Katherine, became after Queene of Castile and Leon, (being married to Henry third in possession before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posterity Kings of Spaine. Edmond Earle of Cambridge, married also at the same time Isabel the yongest daughter of King Peter, and both shortly after returned into England, though without victory, yet with wives. Lionell Duke of Clarence, a little before, marries Violenta, the Duke of Millaines daughter in Italy, where they feasted him so as shortly after he died.

The ill consequence of that journey

1369.
Anno
Reg. 43

The Empe-
ror Charles 4.
makes a jour-
ney into France
to reconcile
the two Kings
The allegati-
ons of the
English Am-
bassadors be-
fore the Em-
perour.

Vil. Append.

The reply of
the French.

Anno
Reg. 44
Forces sent
into France.

Anno
Reg. 45
A Subsidie
granted by
Parliament;
and the man-
ner of seizing
the same.

The Duke of
Lancaster sent
into Aquitaine
The Prince of
Wales returns
into England.

The Duke of
Lancaster mar-
ries Constance,
daughter to
the King of
Sicilie.

1372
Anno
Reg. 46

The Earle of
Pembroke taken
prisoner
by the Spaniards.

1373.
Anno
Re. 47

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *English*, had endured a long siege both by Sea and land, to releve which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent with forty shippes well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twenty thousand markes to defrey the voyage, who encountering the *Spanish* Armado sent to ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell conflict, is taken prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe, though now aged, sets forth, with a mighty Army to recover these losses, but thereby lost more, the windes with his fortune being against him, beat him backe, having spent in this preparation nine hundred thousand markes.

Shortly after, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, passes over againe to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auvergne*, where amongst the mountaines he lost many of his people for want of victuals, and almost all his horse, so that he came to *Burdeaux* with a starved and distressed company, which after some time he relieves and made certaine attempts upon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of victories was out, all went ill with the *English*. The Duke returns the next yeere, and all *Gascogne* revolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards these warres: which now are fought to be ended by treaty, an unlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are spent therein, at *Barges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The *French* having now the advantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooved his Staple, in regard of the danger of Merchants goods) and restitution of great summes of money, which were not to be yeilded: So that nothing but temporary Truces were to be gotten to serve present shifts, wherein the *English*, and their party, had ever the worst.

And here at home, besides the sickness of the Prince (which grew desperate) the State is diseased, the Kings age is misled, his treasure exhausted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure these evils, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings wants are opened, and supplies required: the whole body of the Assembly, weary to beare these continuall burthens, in steed of contributions, exhibit complaints, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlaine, Dame *Alice Pierce*, the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturmy*, might be amoooved from Court. Their Complaints, and desires are so vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter La Mare*; as the King rather than not to be supplied, gave way unto them, and all these persons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to favour their proceeding, for there seemes to bee no good correspondence betweene him and his brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all under his aged father, and whose ambition might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeare of his raigne, to gratifie his Subjects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Jubile*; wherein onely *William Wincham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Jubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales*, which happened in this Parliament time. A heavy losse to the State, being a Prince of whom

Another Subsidie granted by Parliament:

1376.
Anno
Reg. 50

A Parliament at Westminster, in which was called the good Parliament. The Duke of Lancaster with others banished the Court.

Another Jubile.

The death of the Prince of Wales.

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we never heard any ill, neither received other note than of goodnesse, and the noblest performances, that Magnanimity and Wisedome could ever shew: in so much, as what prayse can be given to Vertue, is due unto him. His death changed the face of affaires. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called the good Parliament, now dent woman (working upon the Kings impotencies) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*. An act without example of former times; and did no good in this, especially being wrought by such a subject. This woman presuming upon the Kings favour, whom shee had subdued, grew so insolent (the common evill of such fortunes) that shee entemedled with Courts of Iustice and other Offices, where shee her selfe would sit to effect her desire: which, though in all who are so exalted, are ever excessive, yet in a woman most immoderate, as having lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to have the Regency, and to manage all the affaires of the Kingdome, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdome, providently setled the same in the Parliament, upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his present safety, least *John* of *Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *John* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet hee behaves himselfe very imperiously in this state hee had. And first shewes his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him over to the going of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and cryeeld up his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, than obey his commandment therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and gives it with the Office to Sir *Henry Percy*, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether anew or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of a .11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seate, and taught him to demand a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to be payde in one yeare: Or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandizes sold for one yeare; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee; and of every Fire-houle one penny. And this Demaund the Duke earnestly urges, saying, One of them ought of necessity to be granted; in regard the enemy proclaiming Warre, purposed to invade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they say, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelve which hee could not alter) require respite to answer: a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliver their answer. The other would have Sir *Peter de la Mare* to be enlarged, and deliver theirs; and also answer to what could be objected against him, before the Lords in Parliament, and there to submit himselfe. Then the Duke demaunds ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treat therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gave interruption to this business. A certaine Divine, named *John Wicliffe*, deprived by the Archbishop

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of

The Duke of Lancaster returns with the rest to the Court. The revenge and behaviour of Alice Pierce.

The Duke of Lancaster governes all. Richard of Burdeaux created Prince of Wales.

The Earle of March resignes his Office of Marshall, which is given to Sir Henry Percy.

John Stow. The Prince motions a subsidy in divers kindes.

The parliament divided.

A diffention
about John
Wickliffe.

His doctrine.

The Duke of
Lancaster fa-
vours Wick-
liffe, and why.

The conventi-
on of Wickliffe
before the Bi-
shops in Pauls

The Citizens
of London take
their Bishops
part.

of Canterbury of a benefice in Oxford, which he was found unjustly to holde; had heeretofore, being discontented (the humour that commonly breeds Scisme) inveighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles against the abuses of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then so free from scandall, but might well be taxed) and had by this doctrine there, and in London wonne many Disciples unto him (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare footed, and poorly cladde in russet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get passage into the opinion of the people, apt to embrace novelties, and usually beguiled by disguises, in regard they rather Beleeve than Iudge. Amongst other his Doctrines, hee taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could give any thing in Perpetuities unto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of such religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of William Rufus, &c. A Doctrine very pleasing to great men, who commonly embrace Sects, eyther for ambition to get, or for jealousy not to lose, or for hatred to revenge.

This man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry Piercy, much favour and cherish, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him so farre presume, as he daily in one Church or other published his opinions without feare: Whereupon at length hee is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London and others, in Pauls. At the day appointed, the Duke of Lancaster and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him: By the way he is animated by his Followers not to feare the Bishops, and entring into Pauls, the preasse is so great, as hardly any passage could be made, whereupon the Marshall using some violence, thrust in upon the people, which Courtney, Bishop of London prohibited him to doe, saying: *If he had knowen he would have behaved himselfe so in that place, he should not have come into the Church.* The Duke hearing these words, angerly replied, *That the King shall should execute his authority, whether he would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Bishops, sitting downe, John Wickliffe (sent for in by the Lord Marshall) was by himselfe willed to sit downe, in regard he sayd, the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient Seat. The Bishop of London told him, it was against all law and reason, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, should sit: Hereupon contumelious words arose betwene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop, the Duke takes the Marshalls part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop, the Bishop returns the like to the Duke, who in great rage, seeing he could not prevail, swore he would pull downe the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of England, *You trust, sayd he, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I trust not in my Parents, said the Bishop, nor in any man living, but in God in whom I ought to trust.* The Duke, as if whispering in his eare told him, *hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, than suffer these indignities:* which words the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud voice, *they would rather lose their lives, than suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used, and threatened to be pulled out of his owne Church.* Their fury was the more incensed against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was president) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of London, but a Captain appointed for the government of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of England should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

About this businesse, and this wrong offered to their Bishop, the Citizens assem-

The Citizens
in uprore,

The Duke of
Lancaster in
danger flee-
to the Prin-
celle.

The Bishop of
London ap-
peases the tu-
mult.

The Citizens
send to the
King.

assembling the morrow after, to consult among themselves, it happened the Lord Fitz-Water, and Guido Brian, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ranne upon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming unlent for, at that time. The Lord Fitzwater protested hee came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himselfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Ames, assaile the Marshalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Gyves, and let him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one John de Xpres. Then this furious multitude ran to assaile the Savoy, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Master dynd, & acquaints him with this uproare in the City. The Duke leapes from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shiines on the Fourme, and with Sir Henry Piercy, alone takes boate, and away he gets to Kennington neere Lambeth, where the Princessse with the young Prince lay; to whom he complains of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive to know the businesse, was answered, *They went to take the Duke and the Lord Marshall, and compell them to deliver Sir Peter de la Mare, unjustly detayned in Prison.* The Priest replied; *That Sir Peter was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out, *This is Piercy, this is the Traytor of England, his speech bewrayes him though his apparell be disguised; and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death.*

The Bishop of London hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the Savoy, admonishes them to be mindefull of the holy time (being Lent) and for the love of Christ to desist from such seditious acts; assuring them, all things should be fairely ended for the good of the City. Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbore to assault the Dukes house, whose person (if they could have found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their fury, at that time; but missing him, they yet hung up his Armes reversed, in signe of Treason in all the principall streets of the City.

The Princessse from Kennington sent Alberto de Vere, Louys Clifford, and Simon Burleigh to the Citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answer, *That for her Honour they would doe what soever shee commanded:* but yet enjoyned the Knights, to will the Duke, to permit the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de la Mare to come to them answer, according to the custome of the Lawes of England. They fear likewise of the chiefe Citizens to the sicke King, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting themselves not to be privy therunto, but sought all meanes to suppress the same, which they could not do: the whole Community being in commotion upon an information that their liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, *It never was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but to returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleased with this answer. But yet they could not stop the passage of rimes and libels (those secret stings that wound unscene) but that they were daily spread in the City to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Author of such Rimes, and Libels. Norwithstanding, this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time

A Subsidy
granted in
this Parlia-
ment.

time so unseasonable, both for his owne ends, and the publike business, hee undertooke; The Commons in Parliament, desirous to ayde their King, granted a Subsidy on this condition, that being leaved, it should be commuted to certaine *Earles* and *Barons* to see issued, according to the occasions of the Kingdome. But this Subsidy was of a new nature, neyther in any of those kinds propounded. Every person, man and woman within the Kingdome, above the age of 14. yeares, were to pay four pence, those who lived by Almes onely excepted. The Clergy likewise grants 12. pence of every Parson Beneficed; and of all other Religious persons 4. pence of the head; A mighty and unknowne ayde, such as never was granted to any King of England before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne; wherein it caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that ever was scene in this Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended; but not the Dukes displeasure against the City. The Mayor and Aldermen are brought before the King at *Shene*, and advised to submit themselves to the Duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offences. They protest as before; they could not stay the rage of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not to punish such as were innocent and ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke they would endeavour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more, sayd they, we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of Lancaster; Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places who were put out.

The King was desirous to have reconciled them to his Sonne, but sickness having now vanquished him, he is forced to give over this world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what she could snatch, even to the Rings of his fingers, left him; then his other attendants, by her example, feasting on what they could fatten, shift away, and all his Councillours and others forsooke him in his last agony when most he needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance, as he passes, approaches to the Kings bed side, and finding him yet breathing, calles upon him to remember his Saviour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but every one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was upon him (a misery fatall to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will never suffer to know themselves, nor their owne state, yet in health or sickness) made him neglective of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred up by the voyce of this Priest, he shewes all signes of contrition, and at his last breath expresses the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his manner of *Shene* (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of June, *Anno Dom. 1377.* in the 64. yeare of his Age, having raygned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde daies.

The death of
King Edward
and the man-
ner thereof.

His Character
His Justice.

His Character we finde best exprest in his actions, yet thus briefly. He was a Prince, hee soonest a man, and the longest that held so, of any wee read: He was of Personage comely, of an even stature, gracefull, respectfully affable, and well expressing himselfe. A Prince who loved Justice, Order, and his People, the Supreme vertues of a Sovereign. His love of Justice, was scene by the many Statutes hee made for the due execution thereof, and the most straight binding oath, he ordained to be ministred unto his Iudges and Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, causing

causing some to be thrust out, and others grievously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*, *Anno Reg. 39.* He bettered also that forme of publike Justice which his Grandfather first began (and which remaines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to the observation of Order amongst his people, witness so many laws, as were made to restrain them from excesses in all kindes. 3. His love to his Subjects, was exprest in the often easing of their grievances, and his willingness to give them all faire satisfaction, as appears by the continuall granting of the due observation of their Charters, in most of his Parliaments. And when dome of France, least England should thereby come to bee under the subjection of that crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statute, in the firmest manner could be devised, that this Kingdome should remaine intyre as before, without violation of the rights it had.

His love to
his people.

Provident he was in all his actions, never undertaking any thing before he had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his Subjects allowed him more with lesse adoe, than ever any of his predecessors had: and he as fairely issued what he received from them, having none other private vent of profusion, than his enterprises for advancing the State, and honour of the Kingdome. True it is, that most attent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without Sackage of any man, such as his grandfather made upon the Offices of Justice, the *Justices* and Officers.

His providence.

For his gifts we finde them not such as eyther hurt his owne Fame and reputation, or any way distasted the State. To be short, hee was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it; and therefore was he better obeyed, better respected and served than any of his predecessors.

His Workes of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *Eastminster*, an Abbey (of the *Cistercium* Order) neere the Tower. An Abby for Nunnes at *Dexford*. The Kings Hall in Cambridge for poore Schollers. An Hospitall for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint Stephens Chappell at *Westminster*, with the endowment of 300. pound, per annum, to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at *Windsor*, and provisions there for Church-men, and 24. poore Knights, &c. These were his publicke workes; the best Monuments and most lasting to glorifie the Memory of Princes. Besides these, his private buildings are great and many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His workes of
Piety.

His magnificence was shewed in his Tryumphes and Feasts, which were sumptuously Celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preservers of Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, hee was a Prince, whose nature agreed with his Office as onely made for it. Those defailances we finde in him at last, we must not attribute to him but his age, wherein wee never yet saw Prince happy. When their vigor sayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whilst this Prince held together, hee was indissoluble, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His buildings.

His Magnifi-
cence.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Lady of excellent Vertue, who though shee brought him little or no Estate, shee brought him much content, some benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. Shee drew evenly with him in all the courses of Honor that appertained to her side, and seemes a peece so just cut for him, as answered him rightly in every joynt. Gracious and loving shee ever shewed herselfe to this Nation, and did many workes of piety, amongst which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her

His Wife, and
his Issue.

Name

Name and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this King and his Grand-father *Edward* the first, the best of our Kings, had the two best Wives: Which shewes that *worthinesse* is such an *Elixir* as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnesse in the same Mettall,) it will render it of the property: So that these *Queenes* could be no otherwise than they were, having so excellent Husbonds.

She bare unto him seven sonnes, whereof five lived to have Issue; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Torke*, and *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, which became Duke of *Glocester*. Foure daughters (of five shee bare) lived to bee married. *Isabel* the eldest: to *Ingarlam* Lord of *Covey*, Earle of *Soissons* and *Bedford*. *Joan* to *Alphonso* 11. King of *Castile*, but shee dyed before shee lay with him. *Mary*, to *John* Monford Duke of *Brittaine*, *Margaret*, to *John* *Hastings*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, and shee also dyed without Issue.

Thus have we seene the end of this great King: who, how he came to the Crowne we know, and now how he left it we see: In both are considerations of importance. His stepping over his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, having so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, hee had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate; but left the same (worse than he found it) to a Childe of eleven yeares of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which over weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: To broken and distracted inheritances abroad: Himselfe having seene all his great gettings purchased with much expence, travaile and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remaining, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To shew that our Bounds are prescribed us, and a Pillar set by him who beares up the Heavens, which we are not to transpasse.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

Thm

Thus farre have I brought this Collection of our History, and am now come to the highest exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Government reared up with all those maine Couplements of Forme and order, as have held it together ever since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our civill discord, by the Monage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the same. And heere I leave, unlesse by this which is done, I finde incouragement to goe on.

